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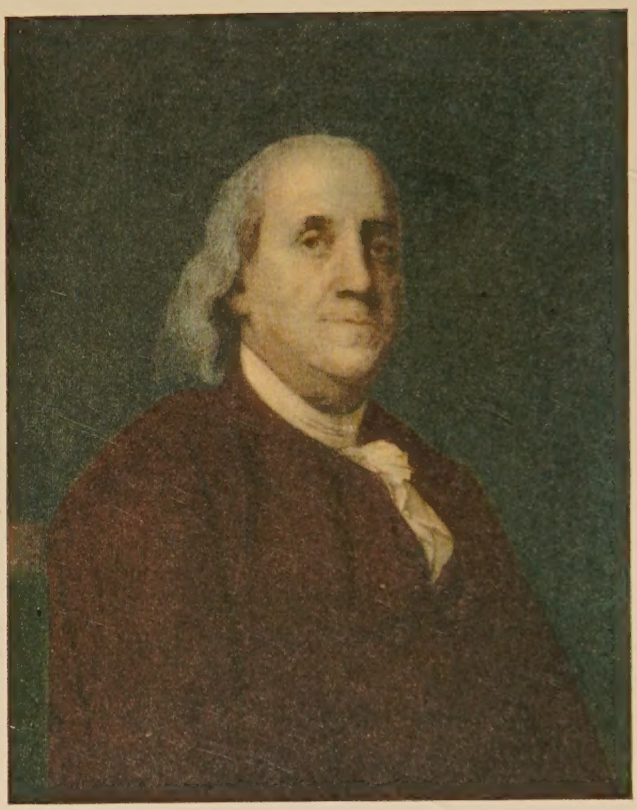
A History of the United States

Volume IV



B. Franklin

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE

FROM THEIR EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

ELROY McKENDREE AVERY

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES
VOLUME IV

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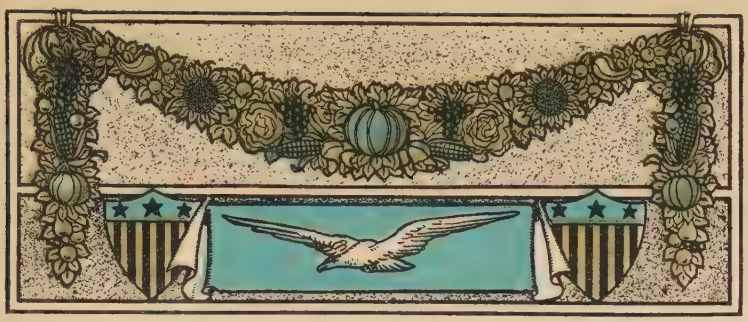


PREFACE

IN the preceding volume, I tried faithfully to trace the continued and intensifying conflict between "prerogative" and popular rights in the English colonies in America, a conflict that was irrepressible from the beginning and that was leading to a more serious struggle in which the issue was to be fought to a finish.

In this volume, I have told, as well as ability and space limitations would permit, how the shackles of an ever-present menace were broken and the colonists were schooled and nerved for the coming grapple.

I shall be disappointed if the careful reader of these volumes does not understand, even before he takes up the next, that the American Revolution was in the blood and that the stamp act and George III. were simply irritants that hastened what could not be avoided.

In working out my purpose, I have been encouraged by the general approval with which readers and reviewers have received the successive instalments of this work. I have been further assisted by friendly suggestions from many members of the great but well-defined constituency that I am seeking to serve.

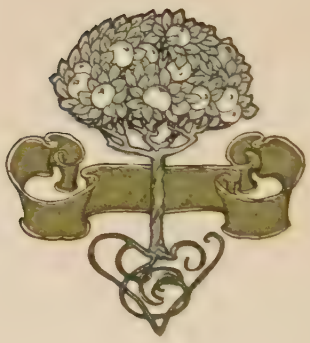
I am under deep obligation to my able helper, Dr. Paul L. Haworth, sometime lecturer in history at Columbia University. Dr. Haworth has given me valuable assistance in the collection, verification, and interpretation of material and in the preparation of this volume. Special acknowledgments are also due to Lieutenant-colonel Crawford Lindsay, my mentor for the five busy days that I gave to the study of Quebec and its environs;

to Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, the state historian of New York; to Mr. A. S. Salley Jr., the secretary of the historical commission of South Carolina, who, for a week, gave me friendly guidance among the unprinted treasures in his keeping; and to Professor William MacDonald of Brown University for his revision of the final chapter.

I am sure that no one who has this volume in his hand will care for even a suggestion from me concerning the enterprising liberality of my publishers.

Elroy M. Avery

Cleveland, August, 1907



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From original oil painting in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., by Joseph Sifrede Duplessis, painted in Paris, according to inscription on back, in 1782.

Duplessis was born in Carpentras, Vaucluse, September 22, 1725, and died at Versailles, where he was conservator of the museum, April 1, 1802. He attained a high rank as a portrait painter and was received into the Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1774. His various portraits of Franklin are among the most noted of this famous man. His first portrait was painted in 1778 for M. Donatien le Ray de Chaumont, whose "petite maison," at Passy, Franklin occupied during his residence in France. It was exhibited in the Salon of 1779.

Another and different portrait of Franklin was drawn by Duplessis, in pastel, in 1783, which belongs to the Hon. John Bigelow; but the majority of the portraits of Franklin, attributed to him, are copies by other hands.

Much of the information we furnish upon this artist and his work is from Mr. Charles Henry Hart's *Life Portraits of Great Americans.* Mr. Hart is recognized as the most eminent living authority on American historical portraiture.

Autograph :

From an original letter in the Library of Congress.

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A History of the United States and its People

The Colonies: 1745–1764

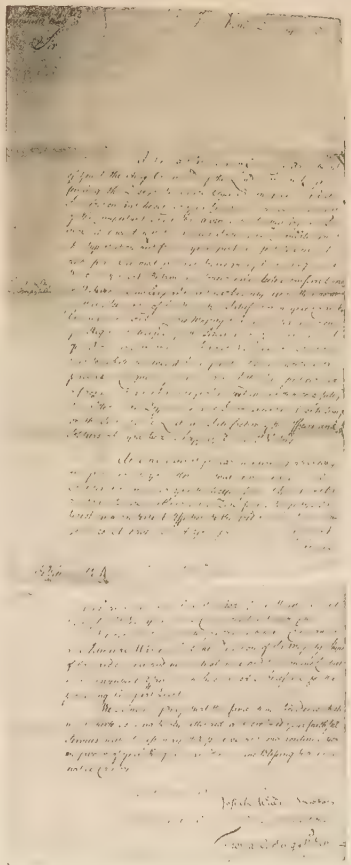
CHAPTER I

FROM LOUISBURG TO FORT NECESSITY

1745
1754

IN June, 1746, Pepperrell, the commander of the troops that had lately taken Louisburg, was received at Boston with noisy enthusiasm. In the same month, a French fleet was sent under Admiral D'Anville to recapture the lost fortress, destroy Boston, and ravage the New England coast. Rumors of its coming produced great terror in the threatened region. In Massachusetts, forts and batteries were repaired and manned, coast lookouts were reëstablished, and, by the thousand, troops poured into Boston. On a fast-day, a rising storm rattled the windows of the Old South Church, and Thomas Prince prayed that it might bring confusion to the enemy. In truth, the elements seemed once more to fight for Eng-

A French Threat



Letter from General Court of Massachusetts, Congratulating Pepperrell on the Capture of Louisburg

1746 land. Contrary winds prolonged the voyage; a violent
1747 gale drove some of the vessels back to France, some to the West Indies, and pounded some to pieces on Sable Island. In September, a part of the fleet cast anchor in Chebucto (now Halifax) harbor; other vessels straggled in later. Before the end of the month, D'Anville died suddenly —of apoplexy said some, of poison whispered others. A council of war determined to attack Annapolis (Port Royal); D'Estournelle, the commanding vice-admiral, opposed the plan and, in a rage born of being overruled, committed suicide. Smallpox broke out among the crews, other vessels were lost or scuttled, and the crippled remnant returned to France without striking a blow.

Thomas Prince

A Forgotten Failure

Equally without result was a now almost forgotten plan for the conquest of Canada. This plan involved the old idea of a duplex movement, one expedition to go by land, the other by sea. In April, 1746, the duke of Newcastle sent letters to the governors of all the provinces from New England to Virginia directing them to assist. Great preparations were made; troops were raised; much money was spent. A fleet was assembled at Portsmouth in southern England, but the British regulars were diverted to a descent on Brittany and the colonial auxiliaries were disbanded.

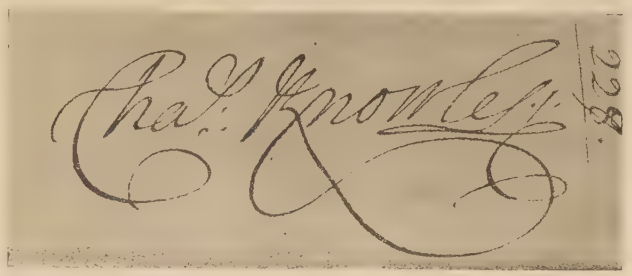
An English Press-gang

To Massachusetts, which under Shirley had again taken the lead in these fruitless preparations, the remaining years of the war brought no greater excitement than that growing out of the desertion of some sailors from

Commodore Knowles's fleet in Nantasket Harbor. A press-gang sent to Boston to make good this loss seized whom they would and bore them off—unwilling recruits for the royal navy. This was an outrage not to be tolerated in the American metropolis. Shirley was frightened by what he called the "mobbishness" of the people, and officers of the fleet who happened to be on shore were seized and held as hostages. In the end, Knowles released most of those who had been impressed and, to the great joy of the people of Boston, put to sea.

A 1747–1748

November 17, 1747



Autograph of Commodore Charles Knowles

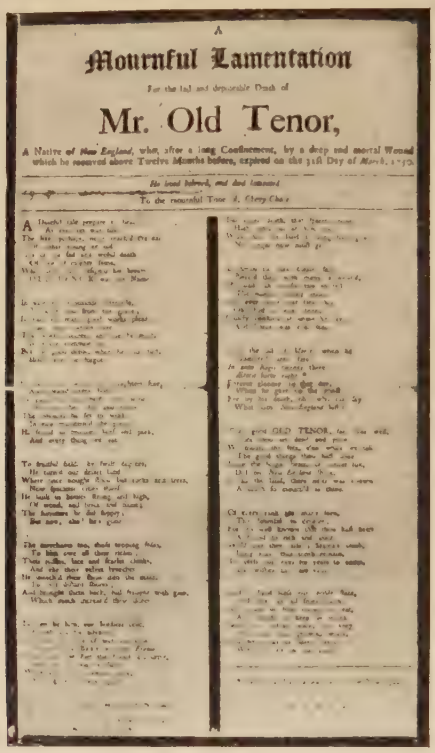
The feeling aroused by this incident was not lessened by the terms of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle whereby England gave back the hard-won Louisburg for far-away Madras. This surrender of the fruit of a conquest largely won by the colonists was grievous for Massachusetts men to bear. A year later, however, a salve was found for the Massachusetts hurt when parliament voted that the various colonies should be reimbursed for their expenses in the expedition against Louisburg. Two hundred and seventeen chests

Louisburg Restored to France October 7-18, 1748

Massachusetts Three-penny Bill, 1750

1748 of Spanish dollars and a hundred casks of copper coin (£183,649) were landed at the Long Wharf—more coin than had ever been seen in Boston before and the harbinger of a new prosperity.

New Tenor and Old Tenor Currency



A

Mournful Lamentation

For the sad and deplorable Death of

Mr. Old Tenor,

A Native of *New England*, who, after a long Confinement, by a deep and mortal Wound which he received above Twelve Months before, expired on the 31st Day of *March*, 1750.

He lived lamented, and died lamented

To the mournful Tune of, *Chevy Chace*

Curious Broadside in Verse Referring to the Discontinuance of Old Tenor Bills of Credit in Massachusetts

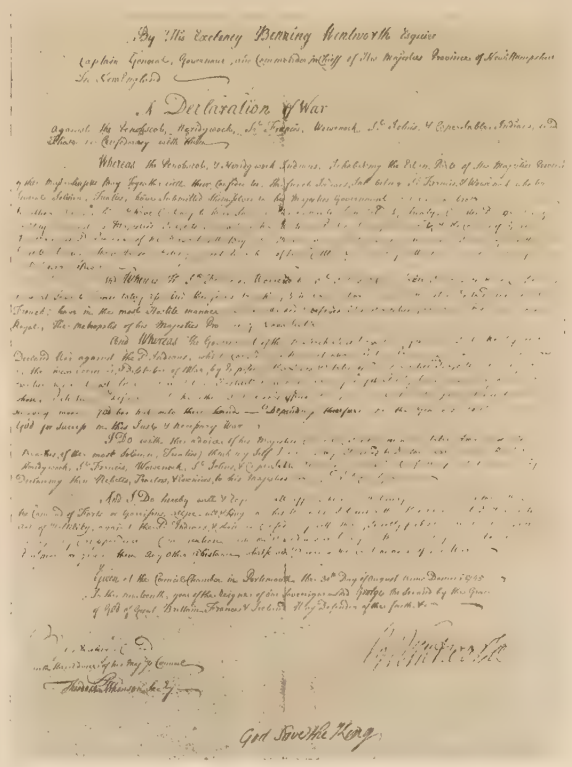
Massachusetts expended wisely the money thus obtained. In 1743, Shirley had given his assent to the issue of "new tenor" bills of credit which circulated at a higher rate than those of the "old tenor," an enormous flood of which was in circulation. One pound sterling in specie was counted as equivalent to thirty shillings of the new or to eleven pounds of the old. The indemnity was devoted to the redemption of the old tenor bills. One pound in money took up about ten in paper, and, as many of the bills had been lost or destroyed, the parliamentary grant met about nine-tenths of those presented; a tax was levied for the retirement of the other tenth. The bills of other provinces were excluded by legislation and the finances of Massachusetts were once more on a sure foundation.

In New Hampshire

In New Hampshire, owing to her greater proximity to Canada, the realities of war had been brought closer

home than in Massachusetts. After the capture of Louisburg it was hoped that the frontiers would be left in peace, but the Indian ravagings still continued and between July, 1745, and August, 1746, thirty persons were killed and twenty carried off captive. As a result, the remote garrisons were discontinued and many dwellings were abandoned.

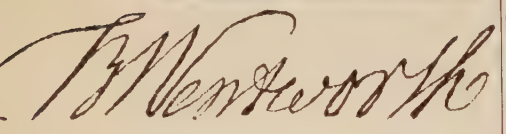
1745
1764


By the Excellency Benning Wentworth Esquire
Captain General, Governour, and Commander in Chief of His Majesties Province of New Hampshire
in New England
A Declaration of War
God Save the King

Manuscript Declaration of War Against the Penobscot Indians

When peace came, the frontiersmen returned to their homes and ere long the tide of settlement was pushing further westward. In January, 1749-50, Governor Wentworth granted lands where Bennington, Vermont, now stands; by 1764, he had granted more than one hundred additional townships. His right to do this was sharply called in question by New York which, under the patent given by Charles II., claimed to the Connecticut River — the beginning of a long-continued and acrimonious dispute over the "Hampshire Grants," and the bone of contention between belligerent factions, the "Yorkers" and the "Green Mountain Boys." The

The Hampshire Grants



dispute was referred to the king but, before it was determined, the territory passed from royal control. It ultimately became the first addition to the original thirteen states that made up the American union.

Certain moneys that had been promised in consideration of a release from the Mason claim had stood unpaid for six years, and when the young heir, John Tufton Mason, returned from the Louisburg expedition, he notified the New Hampshire assembly that unless

1746 payment was made he would sell to some one else. The assembly did not act promptly and Mason conveyed his interest to twelvegentlemen of Portsmouth who were known as the "Masonian Proprietors."

The Old Mason Claim

January 30

The boundary line with Massachusetts also led to complications. In 1744, Governor Wentworth

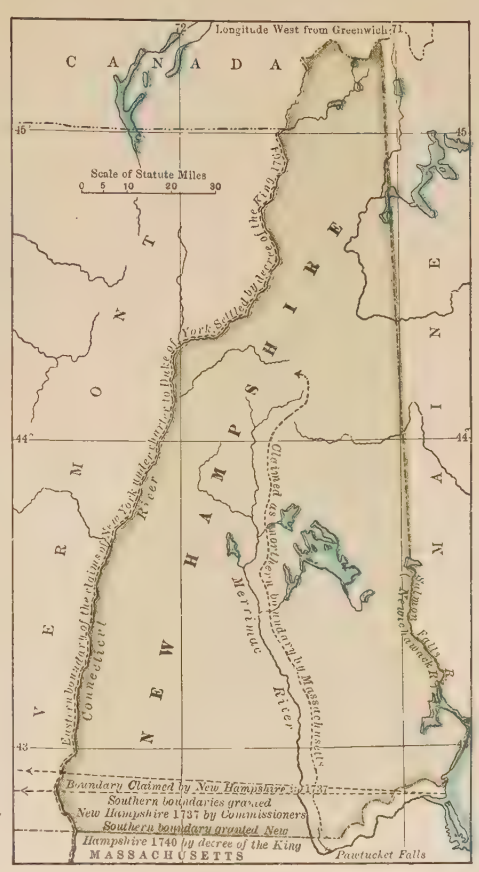
Governor Wentworth has Trouble

Scale of Statute Miles
0 5 10 20 30
VERMONT
1629-1740. Entire present state included as part of Massachusetts by Colony under early charters. (First permanent occupation, 1724)
Claimed by New Hampshire in 1737
1740-1764. To New Hampshire
1764-1775. Entire present state included in New York under decision of the King, July 20, 1764.
Acknowledged by Massachusetts 1731
Eastern boundary settled with New Hampshire 1782
Western boundary assented to by New York, March 6, 1790
Admitted to Union with boundaries as claimed 1791
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW YORK

Map Showing the Territory of Vermont, Historically Treated
Prepared by Miss Susan Myra Kingsbury, Ph. D., Boston

1746
1752

included in his election writs a few towns that had been looked upon as belonging to Massachusetts. The deputies claimed the right to determine what towns should be represented in their body and the customary quarrel followed. For three years, the assembly transacted no legal business, public accounts remained unadjusted, offices that depended on legislative appointment became vacant and so continued, the soldiers of the late war suffered for want of their pay, and even the governor got only a part of his.



Map Showing the Frontiers of New Hampshire, 1737–1764

Prepared by Miss Susan Myra Kingsbury, Ph. D., Boston

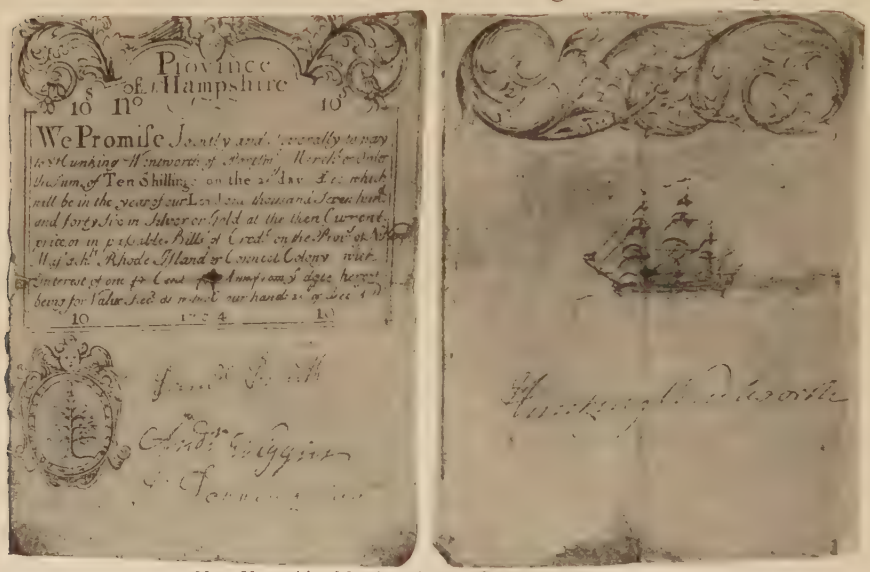
When a new assembly met in 1752, Wentworth was able, by means of promises and patronage, to bring about more amicable relations. His salary was increased and the speaker chosen was satisfactory to him. The subsidy received from England on account of the Louisburg expedition (£16,355) was judiciously invested without quarrel and the active opposition to the governor disappeared. For a little time, New Hampshire enjoyed the novel experience of quiet and prosperity.

Reconciliation

1745
1754

In Rhode Island

In the remaining New England colonies, Rhode Island and Connecticut, the years 1745 to 1754 were not productive of many important events. The troops sent by Rhode Island to assist in the siege of Louisburg arrived



New Hampshire Merchants' Note for Ten Shillings, 1734

too late to participate in the siege, but in the course of one year her privateers sent more than twenty prizes into Newport. The sea was the better field for her warfare. In 1747, the long-contested northern boundary was run. The colony shared in the money received from England as an indemnity for war expenses, but the wise policy of Massachusetts in using the specie thus obtained (£6,332) to redeem her paper money was not imitated.

Connecticut's Western Domain

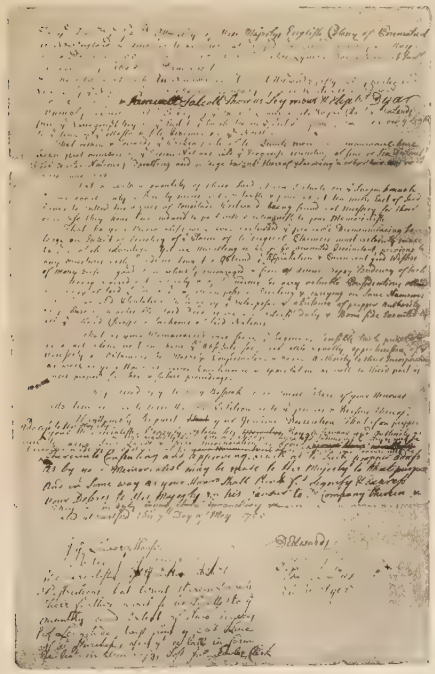
The charter of 1662 had extended Connecticut's northern and southern boundaries westward to the South Sea, excepting from the grant the territory "then possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state." New York lay athwart this course of Connecticut empire, but beyond the boundaries of that province the lines

The Royal Arms

authorized by the Connecticut charter included a vast territory, part of which was overlapped in 1681 by the domain granted to William Penn. In 1750, "some tired Puritans climbed the last summits of the Blue Ridge and looked down into the valley of Wyoming." The beauty of the new-found paradise among the western hills kindled Connecticut enthusiasm and, season after season, men were sent to spy out the land. In 1753, the Susquehanna company was organized. In the following year, representatives of this company met the Six Nations in council at Albany and, in spite of Pennsylvania agents, bought from the Mohawks for two thousand pounds in New York money a vast tract of land including part of the Wyoming valley.

1750

1753



Memorial of the Susquehanna Company

In New York

In New York, after peace had been made, Governor Clinton thought that the frontier needed protection and ordered the militia to be held in readiness to march at a moment's notice. After a parade

1748–1753 of the city troops, he wrote to England that "every man unanimously refused to obey any orders from the crown unless an act of assembly was passed in the province for that purpose."

Shirley and Clinton

In July, 1748, commissioners from New York and Massachusetts, together with the governors of those colonies, met at Albany. The Massachusetts commissioners presented a memorial urging that the remote colonies be compelled to contribute to the defense of the frontiers of New England and New York, the common barrier against the common enemy. But there were deeper plans than this in the brains of the two royal governors. The petition to the king was forwarded with a joint expression of gubernatorial opinion that "the colonies will never agree on quotas for that purpose, and therefore their respective quotas must be settled by royal instructions; . . . there has been so little regard paid in several colonies to the royal instructions that it is requisite to think of some method to inforce them."

Clinton Forces an Issue

There seems to have been a secret agreement between the two to bring the long-continued contention between royal governors and colonial assemblies to a crisis. To

October, 1748

begin the contest, Clinton demanded a five years' grant of revenue, but the New York delegates were "fully convinced that the method of an annual support is most wholesome and salutary and that the faithful representatives of the people will never depart from it." Clinton said that this "set up the people as the high court of American appeal," begged the king to "make a good example for all America," and, in blunt and defiant language, told the assembly that "there is a power able to punish you and that will punish you, if you provoke that power to do it by your misbehavior." The assembly answered with a remonstrance which the governor forbade the public printer to publish. The remonstrance was printed. After a two years' trial, Clinton ended his attempt with an unconditional submission. Unable to secure support in England and weary of his losing struggle with a jealous and resolute

assembly, he resigned his office in 1753. He carried back with him to England a substantial fortune as a reward for his zealous ten years' service—a sovereign balm for many an enforced concession. 1753 Clinton Resigns

Clinton's successor was Sir Danvers Osborne, son-in-law of the earl of Halifax. The new governor brought as his private secretary one Thomas Pownall who was Governor Osborne and Secretary Pownall

Pownall's "View in Hudson's River of Pakepsey and the Catts Kill Mountains"

destined to play a part in American history more important than his own. Osborne took the oath of office on the tenth of October and committed suicide two days later. By virtue of a lieutenant-governor's commission, issued in 1747 but suppressed by Clinton until the last meeting of his council, the chief magistracy passed to James De Lancey, who for twenty years had been chief-justice of the province and was now the leader of the popular faction. De Lancey's position was a difficult one. As a political leader, he had made a record to which consistency and inclination pledged him. As a royal gov- Governor De Lancey

1746 1756 King's College

ernor, he took an oath that bound him to maintain the prerogatives of the king.

In 1746, the provincial assembly passed an act authorizing a lottery in aid of a college and, in 1751, named ten trustees to take charge of the moneys raised for that purpose. The Reverend Samuel Johnson was chosen president in 1753; on the seventeenth of July, 1754, he began the instruction of the first class in the vestry-room of the schoolhouse of Trinity Church. On the thirty-first of October in the same year, the institution, "King's College,"

Seal of King's College from 1754 to 1775

King's College in 1760

received a royal charter. In 1755, the trustees of Trinity Church deeded to the college a large plot of land and, on the twenty-third of August, 1756, the corner-stone of the first building was laid in what was subsequently the block bounded by College Place, Barclay, Church, and Murray streets—at that time a beautiful situation with surroundings of groves and green fields and a fine view of the

Crown on Flag-staff of King's College

Hudson. The institution is now known as Columbia University. 1746–1758

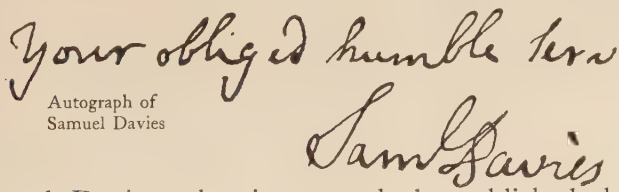
In 1746, the year in which the New York legislature took the first steps toward founding an Episcopal college, certain prominent Presbyterians obtained from the provincial authorities in the colony across the Hudson a charter for the "College of New Jersey." Two years later, a royal charter was obtained. The Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, as president, began the first term of the college at Elizabethtown in May, 1747. Upon his death in the following October, he was succeeded by the Reverend Aaron Burr, father of a son more famous. The college was soon removed to Newark where the first commencement was celebrated with much ceremony. Eight years later it was again moved, this time to Princeton where it was developed into the Princeton University of today. Burr died in 1757, and, in the following February, his father-in-law, the famous Jonathan Edwards, was installed as his successor. After a brief service of thirty-four days Edwards died. The next president was the Reverend

The College of New Jersey

Seal of Princeton University

November 9, 1748

March 22, 1758


Autograph of Samuel Davies

Samuel Davies, who, in 1755, had established the first presbytery in Virginia. Davies died in 1761.

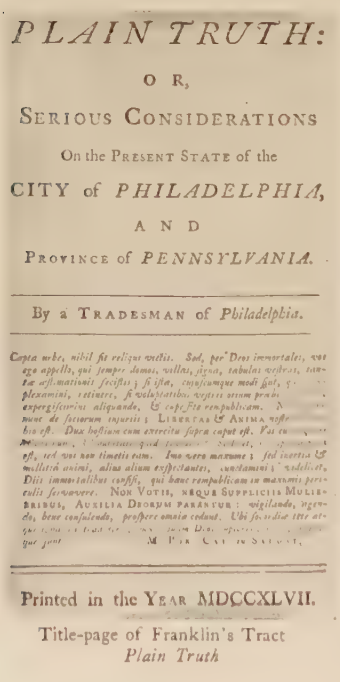
Governor Hamilton, who had succeeded Morris as chief magistrate of New Jersey, died in 1747. In the same year, Jonathan Belcher, lately of Massachusetts, secured a consolation appointment as Hamilton's succes-

Belcher in New Jersey

1746 1757 sor. He greeted the New Jersey legislature with an assurance of strict obedience to "the king's royal orders to me." The delegates voted him a salary for a single year, "not a penny more" than that granted to the late governor who has "harrassed and plagued them sufficiently." Belcher would bow gracefully until he touched his royal instructions; beyond this, he would not, could not, yield.

The Quota-bill Controversy

As in most other colonies, there were warm contests over money matters. As a result of a quarrel arising in 1747 between the council and the assembly over the "quota bill," no appropriation was made for the support of the government for several years. The contest involved royal instructions and the proprietary interests of several members of the council on one side and, on the other side, the stubbornness characteristic of American assemblies in this period. The controversy between the two houses became very warm and the messages and minutes very spicy. Despite these troubles, however, Belcher managed to maintain comparative quiet until his death in 1757.



PLAIN TRUTH:

OR,

SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS

On the PRESENT STATE of the

CITY of PHILADELPHIA,

AND

PROVINCE of PENNSYLVANIA.

By a TRADESMAN of *Philadelphia*.

Printed in the YEAR MDCCXLVII.

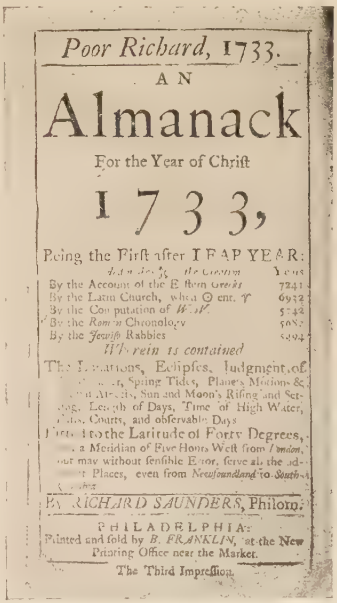
Title-page of Franklin's Tract *Plain Truth*

In Pennsylvania

Across the Delaware River in Pennsylvania the task of the executive had been rendered even more difficult than in most other colonies by the old aversion of the Quaker inhabitants to all warlike measures. In 1746, Governor Thomas succeeded in obtaining a grant of five thousand pounds in paper money "for the king's use" and with it was able to equip four companies of troops and to send them to Albany. But

when, in the following year, the people of Philadelphia, greatly alarmed by rumors of Spanish privateers coming up the Delaware, appealed to the assembly, no help was given. Later in the same year, Franklin wrote his famous pamphlet called *Plain Truth*, urging that the way to secure peace is to be prepared for war, and promising soon to lay before his fellow citizens "a form of association for the purposes herein mentioned." 1747 November

At a public meeting, a plan for such an "association" was signed by more than twelve hundred persons. In a short time there were ten thousand associators who furnished themselves with arms, formed themselves into companies and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week for military drill. A successful lottery was held to meet the expenses of building a battery below the town and furnishing it with cannons. A few old guns were bought at Boston, and some were borrowed at New York. In his characteristic way, Franklin, who was one of the agents who went to New York on this errand, relates that Governor Clinton "at first refused us peremptorily, but at dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of the place then was, he softened by degrees, and said that he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanc'd to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, eighteen pounders, with their carriages, which we soon transported and mounted on our battery." The Associators


Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Chriſt

1733,

Being the Firſt after LEAP YEAR:

By the Account of the Eaſtern Greeks 7241
By the Latin Church, when ⊙ ent. ♈ 6932
By the Computation of *W.S.* 5742
By the *Roman* Chronology 5681
By the *Jewiſh* Rabbies 5694

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipſes, Judgment of ... Spring Tides, Planets Motions & ... Aſpects, Sun and Moon's Riſing and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, ... Courts, and obſervable Days

... to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, ... a Meridian of Five Hours Weſt from *London*, ... may without ſenſible Error, ſerve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By RICHARD SAUNDERS, Philom.

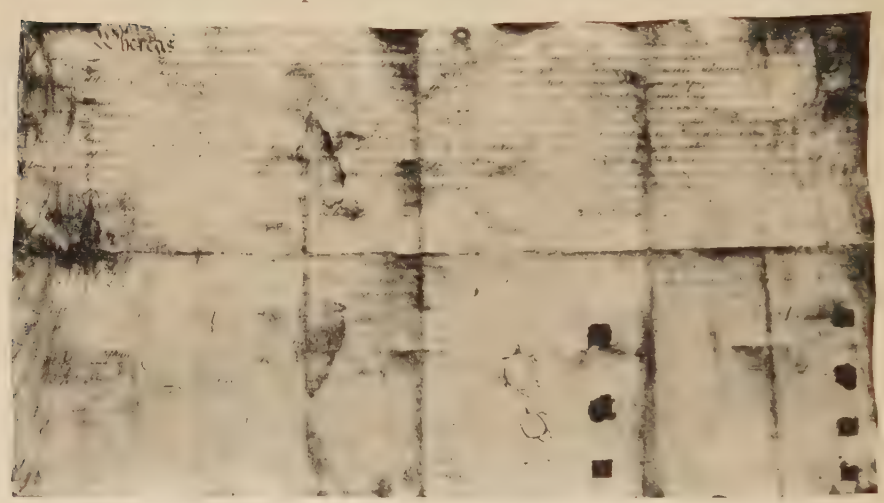
PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and ſold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing Office near the Market.

The Third Impreſſion.

Title-page of Franklin's *Poor Richard*

Governor Thomas resigned in 1747 and Anthony Palmer, Governor Hamilton

1748 as president of the council, exercised the executive authority until the coming of a new governor in 1748. This new governor was James Hamilton, son of the leading counsel for Peter Zenger in the famous trial at New York in 1735. As fear of French influence had resulted in an enormous increase in the amount expended for gifts to the Indians, the assembly demanded that the proprietors should bear part of the burden. But the Penns claimed



Manuscript Indian Treaty, July 23, 1748

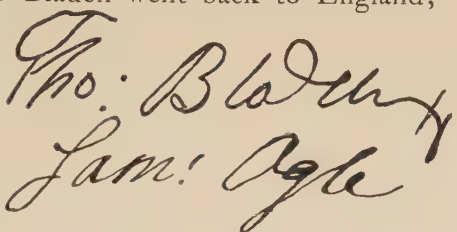
that they were already paying an undue share of the public charges and declined to do more. In 1753, they expressed a hope that "in any matter of like nature the house would be content with such answer as the government was instructed to give them." In an address prepared by Franklin, the house sent back word that "no king of England had ever taken upon himself such state as to refuse personal application from the meanest of his subjects."

In Maryland

In the neighboring proprietary province of Maryland

also, the authorities had great difficulty in securing money for war purposes. In 1746, the province had sent three companies to Albany to aid in the conquest of Canada. In that year, Governor Bladen went back to England; in 1747, Governor Samuel Ogle came to Maryland. When Ogle asked for money with which to pay the forces in the field, he was told that the assembly had raised, provisioned, and transported the troops and would do no more. Some years later when French activity showed that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was only an opportunity for the traditional enemies to catch breath and that a new war must be undertaken, the delegates still were backward about voting money for defense, and Governor Sharpe accounted for the perversity by saying that there were "too many instances of the lowest persons, at least those of small fortunes, no soul, and very mean capacities, appearing as representatives."

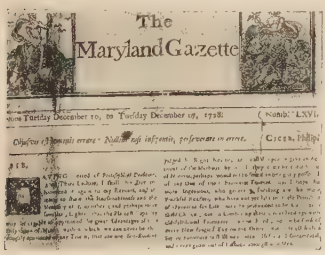
1746 1747



Autographs of Bladen and Ogle

Inspection of Tobacco

Prior to 1747, many Marylanders had mixed poor with good tobacco and had successfully resisted all attempts at regulation. In that year there was much discussion on the subject in the columns of the *Maryland Gazette*, and an inspection act was passed. It provided for a wharf, a warehouse, and scales in each of eighty specified places and forbade the exportation of any tobacco that had not been inspected at one of these places. The improvement in the quality of the Maryland product soon raised the price from eight to twelve shillings per hundred pounds. The results were so satisfactory that the law was continued with little change until 1770.



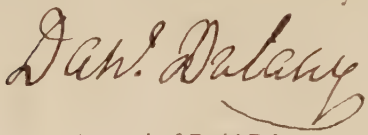
Heading of *The Maryland Gazette*

But something more than an improved tobacco culture

1747
1752
Wheat, Iron, and Prosperity

was needed to make Maryland prosperous and industrially independent. Owing to the abundance of good tobacco land about Chesapeake Bay, the development of the mineral and cereal possibilities of the province had been long delayed. The needed impetus finally came from the opening up of the rich wheat-lands and the iron-mines in the central part of the colony. This was chiefly the work of industrious Palatines, who settled in what became Frederick County. In 1745, Daniel Dulany wrote to Ogle: "You would be surprised to see how much the country has improved beyond the mountains, especially by the Germans who are the best people that can be to settle a wilderness." In the meantime, iron-mines were discovered and opened up and, in 1749, there were eight furnaces for making pig-iron and nine forges for making bar-iron. By the middle of the century, the population of the province was about a hundred and thirty thousand.

The Old Glatz (Schultz) House



Autograph of Daniel Dulany

The Sorry End of a Noble Line

While Maryland prospered, its proprietary family degenerated. In 1751, the fifth Lord Baltimore died and the title to the palatinate passed to his son Frederick. As to Maryland, this unworthy voluptuary cared only for quit-rents and dues that he might spend in riotous living in London. A "noble" author, he wrote an indifferent book of travels; a "noble" criminal, the record of his trial (and acquittal on a technicality) "fills one of the most loathsome chapters of the Newgate Calendar." To such a proprietor, there could be no feeling of personal loyalty. Governor Ogle died in

Ancient Communion Service, Relics of Maryland Palatines

1752 and, in August, 1753, Horatio Sharpe came as his successor. Twenty years after succeeding to the title, the sixth Lord Baltimore died, leaving his province, by will, to an illegitimate son. Before the chancery court rendered a decision on that son's claim to proprietorship, the province was safely moored in the snug harbor from which she has never drifted.

1748
1753

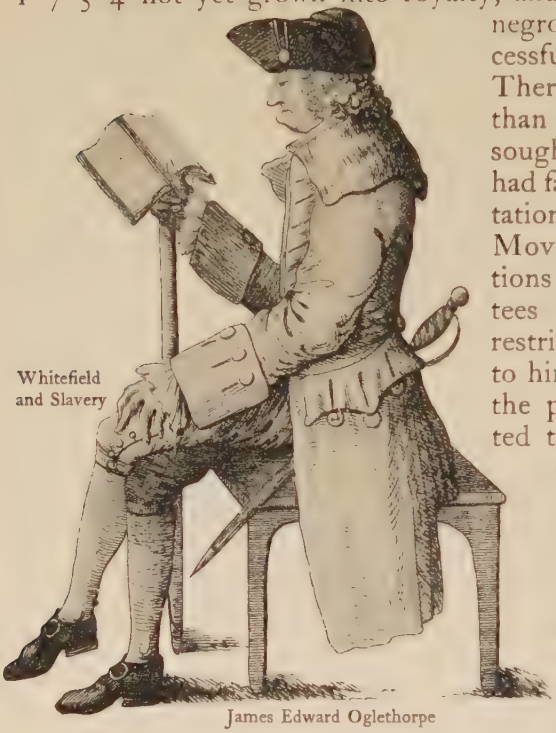
In Georgia

When Oglethorpe went back to England, as recorded in the preceding volume, Colonel William Stephens of Savannah became president of Georgia, a colony with an unprosperous population of not more than fifteen hundred. The olive-trees and grape-vines languished and the silkworms failed to yield

View of Baltimore in 1752

1748 1754 the hoped-for profit. Cotton was still a garden-plant not yet grown into royalty, and rice-culture lacked the negro labor that made it successful in South Carolina. There was less of commerce than of agriculture and few sought homes in a colony that had failed to realize the expectations of its early friends. Moved by the persistent petitions of the settlers, the trustees removed some of the restrictions that were thought to hinder the development of the province. They permitted the tenure of land to be extended to an absolute inheritance and, largely through the influence of Whitefield who complained because he had to keep his orphans in one colony and his slaves in another, annulled the prohibition of negro slavery. For years, they had resisted the constantly swelling demand for slaves; the wonder is that they held out so long. By 1754, about one-third of the population of the colony were slaves.

Whitefield and Slavery



James Edward Oglethorpe

May 17, 1749

An Indian "Queen"

Mary Musgrove was allied by blood to the white race and the red, for many years had sold furs to the one and rum to the other, and was recognized by the Creek Indians as their queen. She now claimed to be the peer of King George, threatened to destroy the whites if all land south of the Savannah was not evacuated, and led into Savannah an Indian host far outnumbering the English inhabitants. At the head marched "Queen" Mary and her husband Thomas Bosomworth, former chaplain to Oglethorpe and a missionary of the society for the

July 20, 1748

propagation of Christian knowledge—she in queenly garb and he in canonical robes. Then came the principal chiefs of the Creeks and, after them, a tumultuous, hideous, howling mob. 1748 1752

A Dangerous Comedy

On the day following, the Indians, now armed, marched about the streets in a sullen manner as if bent on mischief. Persuasion, supplemented by force, separated the queen and her husband from their followers; arguments and the more seductive influence of gifts convinced many of the Creeks that Mary Musgrove was but the daughter of some common squaw by some obscure white man and that Bosomworth was an undoubted cheat and liar; those who remained loyal were overawed by the guards. As their followers fell away, he stormed and threatened, while she, in a drunken rage, called down disaster upon the white intruders. For years, her claims continued a source of annoyance to the colony, but she never again seriously endangered its peace and safety.

The First Georgia Legislature

On the fifteenth of January, 1751, a provincial assembly convened at Savannah; as the right of legislation was vested exclusively in the trustees, the powers of the sixteen delegates were limited to discussion and suggestion. Later in the year, wearied by the twelve years' wailing of the "decayed people" whom they had transplanted from British almshouses to Georgia homes and there fed and fostered, the trustees sent a petition to the king asking permission to surrender the charter. On the twenty-third of June, 1752, the deed of surrender was executed by the trustees and Georgia became a royal province.

August, 1751

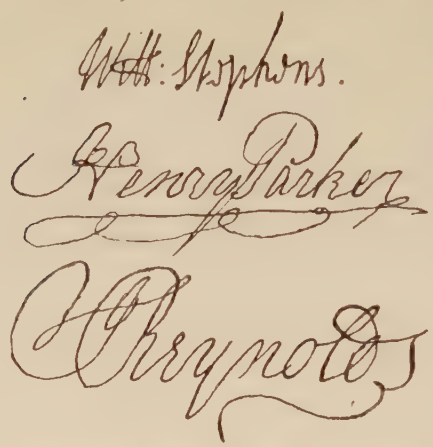
A Record of Honor

For twenty years the trustees had worked with philanthropic zeal. They had made mistakes, of course; their policy had sometimes been narrow and some of their agents ill-chosen; but their purpose had been unselfish and their administration had been guided by a conscientious regard for what they thought the best interests of the colony. In the executive department of the state of Georgia may be seen the original manuscript folio that contains a general account of all moneys and effects received and expended by the trustees, the names of the

1752 benefactors, and the sums contributed by each, all duly
1754 certified by their accountant.

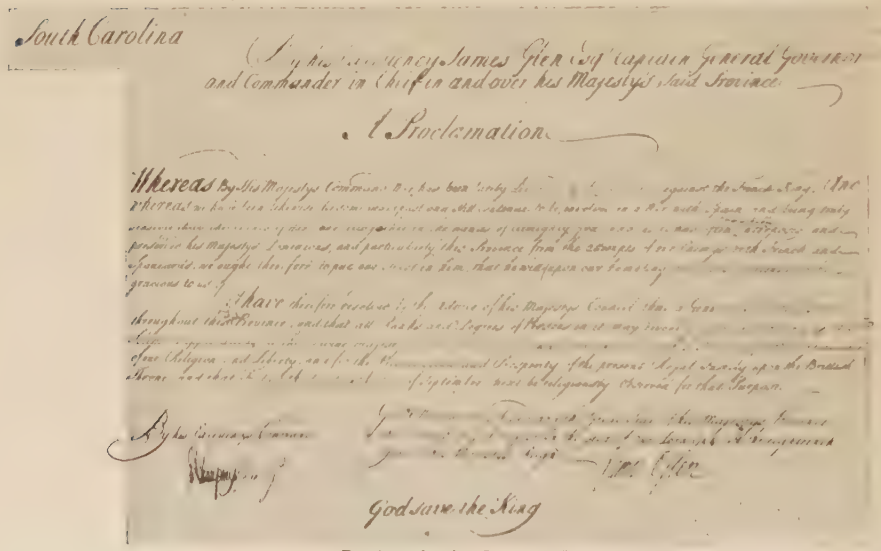
A Royal Province

Early in July, 1752, the home government issued a proclamation temporarily continuing in office President Parker, who had succeeded Stephens in 1751, and the other officials appointed by the trustees. Upon Parker's death in 1753 he was succeeded by Patrick Graham and, in the following year, Captain John Reynolds was appointed "captain-general and governor-in-chief of his majesty's province of Georgia and vice-admiral of the same." The "king's council" constituted the upper house of assembly; its members were appointed by the crown. The representatives,



August 6, 1754

Autographs of Stephens, Parker, and Reynolds

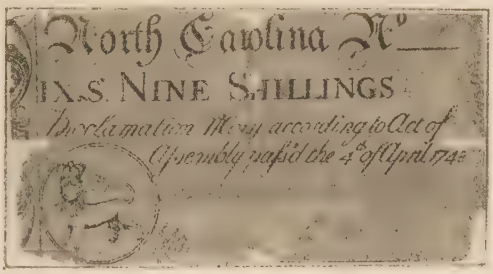


Proclamation by Governor James Glen

chosen by the people, constituted the "commons house of assembly." 1744–1752

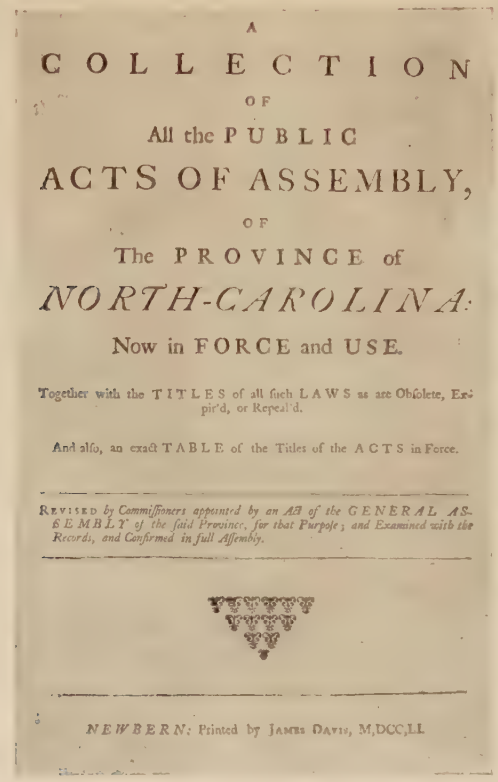
In the neighboring colony of South Carolina, political affairs moved on in much their old channel. The chronic quarrel between executive and legislature continued and Glen, the new governor, soon complained to the duke of Newcastle that the colony was bent on governing itself. In 1745, the lower house reasserted its sole right of introducing, framing, and amending subsidy bills and held that this right was superior to royal instructions. Three years later, Glen wrote to the duke of Bedford that "the people have the whole of the administration in their hands, and the governor, and thereby the crown, is stripped of its power." In South Carolina; February 6, 1744

Not less interesting than the quarrels between royal governors and colonial assemblies was the tide of immigration that was flowing into the Carolinas. Some of these immigrants came directly by sea and others crossed the southern border of the Old Dominion and the tributaries of the Chowan and the Roanoke in search of fruitful "bottom lands." As early as 1736, Henry McCullock had obtained a grant of sixty-four thousand acres in the present county of Duplin, and upon it settled between three and four thousand of his Scotch-Irish countrymen. After the defeat of the Pretender at Culloden, many of his Highland adherents emigrated to North Carolina and secured Scotch ascendancy in the central part of the colony. In the meantime, the stream of Ulster emigrants had entered the colonies by way of Philadelphia, flowed westward to the mountain region beyond the Susquehanna, and turned In North Carolina; 1746



North Carolina Nine-shilling Proclamation Money

1746
1752


A
COLLECTION
OF
All the PUBLIC
ACTS OF ASSEMBLY,
OF
The PROVINCE of
NORTH-CAROLINA:
Now in FORCE and USE.

Together with the TITLES of all such LAWS as are Obsolete, Expir'd, or Repeal'd.

And also, an exact TABLE of the Titles of the ACTS in Force.

REVISED *by Commissioners appointed by an Act of the* GENERAL ASSEMBLY *of the said Province, for that Purpose; and Examined with the Records, and Confirmed in full Assembly.*

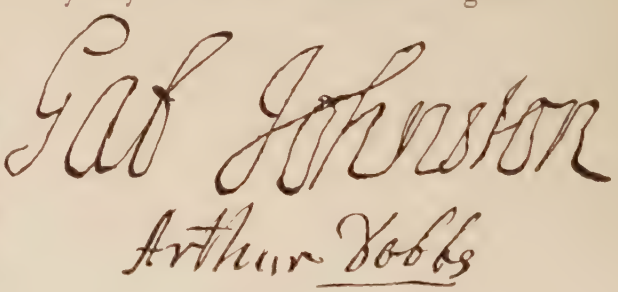
NEWBERN: Printed by JAMES DAVIS, M,DCC,LI.

Title-page of the First Printed Collection of North Carolina Laws

southward through the valleys beyond the Blue Ridge until, in the up-country of the Carolinas, it met a similar stream that was moving up from Charles Town. This was the beginning of a remarkable immigration, the advance-guard of an army of hardy and liberty-loving German and Scotch-Irish settlers who made the central and western sections of North Carolina distinct from the rest of the province.

Prosperity

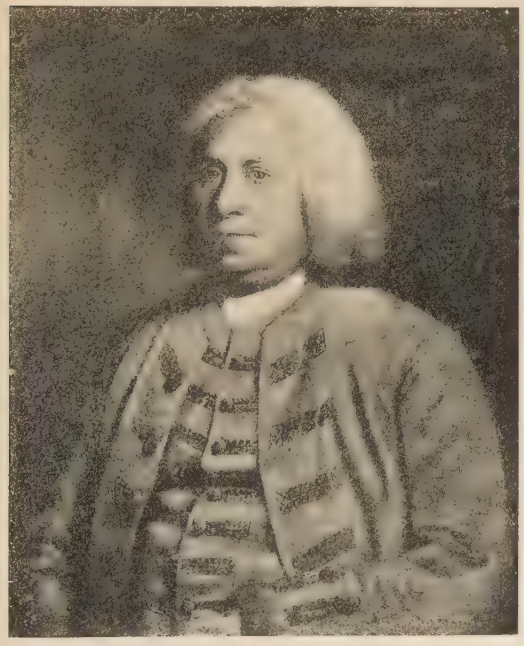
The rich earth yielded generous harvests and, in the older settlements, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry became abundant. North Carolina exported yearly a hundred thousand hogsheads of tobacco, and large quantities of staves and the "enumerated naval stores—tar, turpentine,


Gab Johnston
Arthur Dobbs

Autographs of Gabriel Johnston and Arthur Dobbs

and pitch." In Governor Johnston's beneficent administration, which lasted from 1734 until his death in 1752, the population of the colony increased from not more than fifty thousand to about ninety thousand. Arthur Dobbs, a native of Ireland, became governor in 1754 and held the office until 1765. In 1755, a newspaper, *The North Carolina Gazette*, "with freshest advices, foreign and domestic," made its appearance. 1749 1755

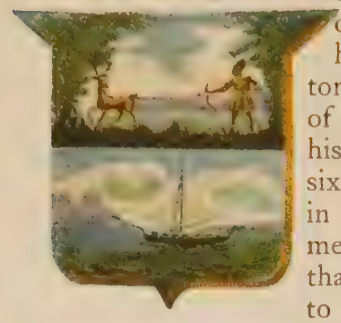
North Carolina was prosperous, but in the Old Dominion history was making. Virginia sent four hundred men as her quota on the Cartagena expedition and, after the death of Spotswood, the command of the colonial contingents devolved upon Governor Gooch. In 1749, Gooch left the province to the care of the council and went back to England. The government devolved upon the president of the council, John Robinson, who died within the year. He was succeeded as president by Thomas Lee of Westmoreland, the father of many distinguished sons. Lee died early In Virginia



Autograph of William Gooch

Autograph of Robert Dinwiddie

1745
1751
Governor Dinwiddie



Coat of Arms of Dinwiddie

in 1751, and was succeeded by Lewis Burwell.

In 1751, Lord Albemarle, the titular governor of Virginia, sent out as his deputy Robert Dinwiddie, a gentleman of Scotch descent who, for some years, had been "surveyor-general of the customs of the southern ports of the continent of America." The new governor came to his office at a critical time. For more than sixty years, Great Britain had been engaged in a second Hundred Years' war for commercial and colonial supremacy. The truce that had been arranged in 1748 was about to be broken; the first outbreak was to take place on the frontiers of Virginia.

Galissonière

When Beauharnois, the governor-general of Canada, was recalled in 1745, La Jonquière, marquis and admiral, was named as his successor. He was in D'Anville's fleet that met with misfortune in 1746. In 1747, when again at sea bound for Quebec, he was captured by the English, after which the Marquis de la Galissonière became governor-general of Canada. In 1749, the new governor sent an expedition under Céloron de Bienville to make friends with the Indians, to warn out the English traders who were beginning to swarm over the Alle-

Céloron

La Galissonière

ghenies, and to bury leaden plates upon which were engraved the claims of France to the Ohio valley. Here was a "Thus far and no farther." Galissonière was recalled in September, 1749. La Jonquière had been liberated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and, in August, 1749, arrived in Canada. To him, Céloron made his report.

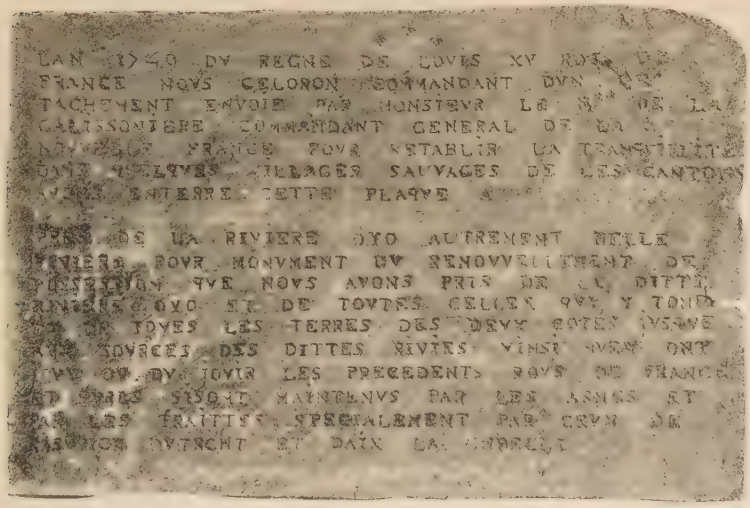
1748
1749

Map of Route of Céloron de Bienville

La Jonquière

Meanwhile, the English were not inactive. In 1748, Colonel Thomas Lee, the president of his majesty's Vir-

The Ohio Company



Facsimile of One of Lead Plates Buried by Céloron de Bienville

ginia council, and twelve other persons in Maryland and Virginia (among whom were Lawrence and Augustine Washington), with the aid of John Hanbury, a London merchant, organized the Ohio company. By an order of council dated March 16, 1749, they were granted

Autograph of Thomas Lee

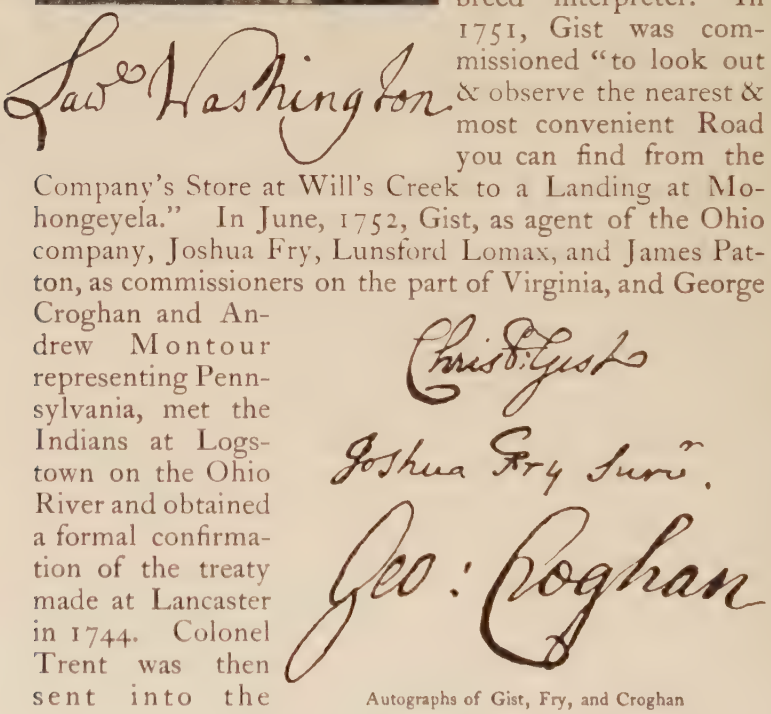
1749
1752

Gist and Croghan

half a million acres on the south side of the Ohio River between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers.

In 1750, the Ohio company sent out Christopher Gist to select the land thus granted. In the same year, Pennsylvania despatched thither George Croghan, an Irishman who had traded as far as the shores of Lake Erie, and Andrew Montour, a half-breed interpreter. In 1751, Gist was commissioned "to look out & observe the nearest & most convenient Road you can find from the Company's Store at Will's Creek to a Landing at Mohongeyela." In June, 1752, Gist, as agent of the Ohio company, Joshua Fry, Lunsford Lomax, and James Patton, as commissioners on the part of Virginia, and George Croghan and Andrew Montour representing Pennsylvania, met the Indians at Logstown on the Ohio River and obtained a formal confirmation of the treaty made at Lancaster in 1744. Colonel Trent was then sent into the

Treaty of Logstown

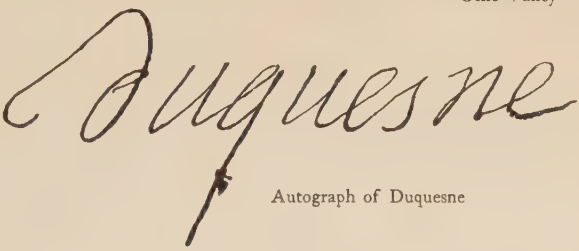


Autographs of Gist, Fry, and Croghan

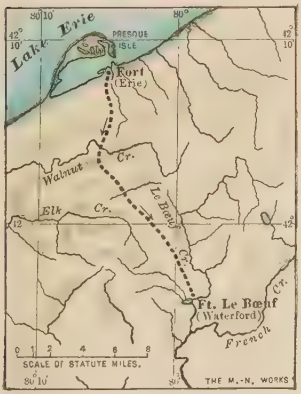
country of the Miamis to confirm the alliance of those western tribes. English traders continued to enter the debatable region and spared no pains to gain over the Indians; some of these traders were seized by the French and sent to France. In June, 1752, the English trading-post at Pickawillany near the junction of the Great Miami River and Loramie Creek, near the site of Piqua, Ohio, was broken up by Charles Langlade and a party of Ottawas and Ojibwas from the upper lakes. The French felt that the act was necessary if they were to maintain their position at Detroit, but after it there was no peace beyond the mountains. 1752 1753

The French Occupy the Ohio Valley

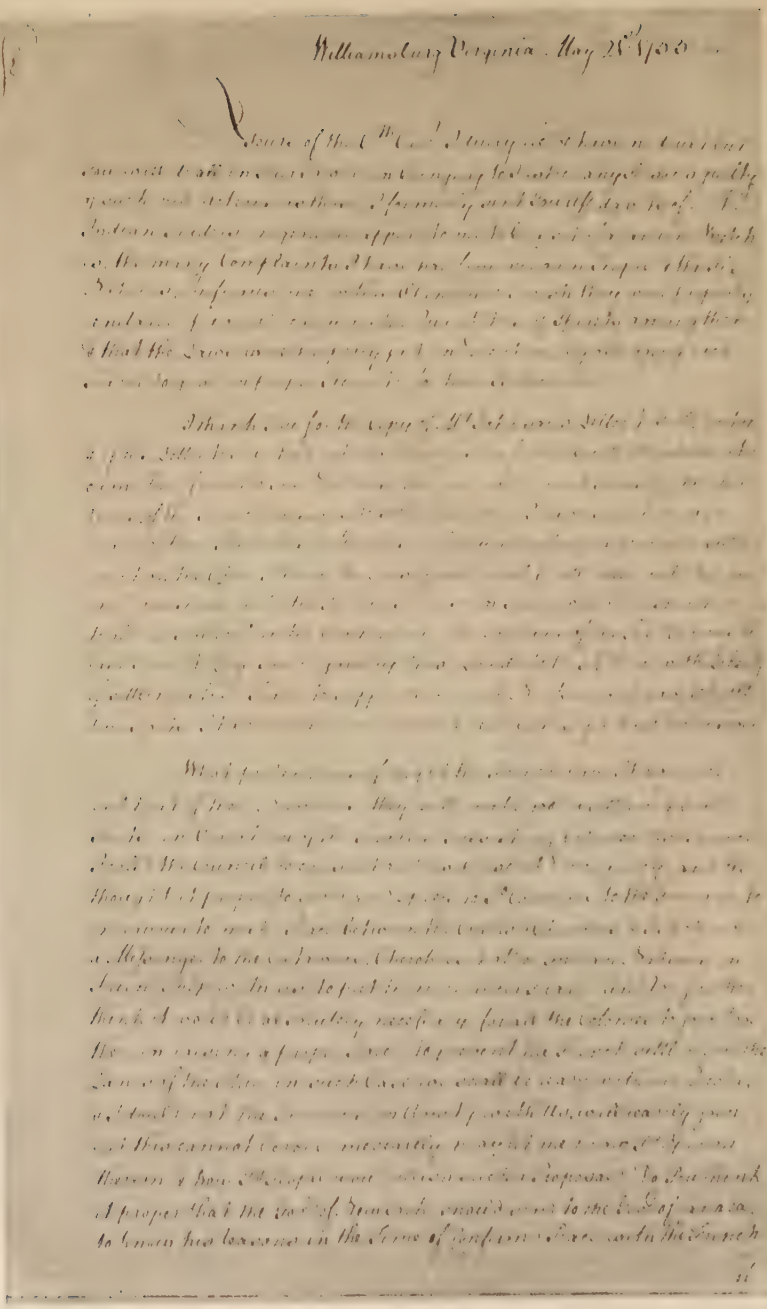
In the year following the capture of Pickawillany, the Marquis Duquesne, the new governor of Canada, sent Pierre Paul, Sieur de Marin, with troops across Lake Erie to secure the disputed region by forts and garrisons. They landed at Presque Isle and built a fort within the present limits of Erie, Pennsylvania. Marin began the building of a military road southward from Fort Presque Isle to the Rivière aux Bœufs (the River of Buffaloes), thirteen miles distant. To this day, the old road is for seven miles the main highway southward from the city of Erie. It is claimed that it was the first white man's road made in the Central West. The Rivière aux Bœufs was a tributary of the Allegheny River, we call it French Creek. Here, on the site of Waterford, Marin built Fort Le Bœuf. Later in the season, he sent men to build a third fort at the junction of French Creek with the Allegheny River, the



Autograph of Duquesne



Map of the French Creek Route



Dinwiddie's Letter to James Hamilton
(First Page)

of his sending an Army into the English Government, to take the Lands granted us by the Indians, & his People Robbing & Murdering the English Subjects? — The Emperor of the Cherokees, his Empress, Son, & some of his Generals were here last Fall & were properly Entertain'd & dismiss'd with considerable Presents. I have now an Acct that some of the Mawhawks commonly called the Praying Indians, in the Interest of the French, met with him on his return to his Country, Scalp'd the Emperor, carried the Empress Son & Attendts Prisoners to Canada, such Cruelties is intolerable, & surely cannot meet with the Approbation of the Govr of Canada.

I agree with You as soon as we can have the Facts properly clear'd up that immediate Notice should be sent Home to the Ministry, get an Application to the Govr of Canada previous thereto, I think absolutely necessary, if You think proper to write Govr Clinton thereon. There is a Misfortune attending Our Trade with the Indians, which I have observ'd ever since Arrival, that the Traders from each Colony are Jealous of one another, & seem entirely bent on the Support of their [illegible] that to the Indians, without considering themselves Subjects to one & the same Prince, this I conceive has been of very great Prejudice to the British Interest, with the different Nations of Indians, & wish some Method may be found out to restrain these People, & to keep the Trade in a more uniform & regular Manner.

I have often mentioned to the Chiefs of Your Proprietary's Inclinations to support their Selling the Lands granted them by His Majesty, for which they seem'd to be very well pleas'd, & I shall be exceedingly glad to keep up an open & free Correspondence with You. I shall long to hear the Result of Yr Assembly on the present Situation of Affairs & tho' many of Yr People from Religious Principles are peaceably inclin'd yet they will not silently submit to the Views they may have of their Property being under a French arbitrary Government & as the greatest Number of Yr People are Germans, no doubt on this Occasion they will with Chearfulness exert themselves in Defence of their Rights &c.

I am extreemly hurried, & the Messenger waits for this Letter wherefore I hope You'll excuse any Blunders may be in it, I believe me to be with all imaginable Regard & Esteem

Sr most Obedient
& most humble Servt
Robt Dinwiddie

To the Hon.ble Jas Hamilton Esqr Govr of Pensylvania

DINWIDDIE'S LETTER TO JAMES HAMILTON
(Second Page)

1753 site of Venango, now called Franklin, Pennsylvania. In spite of the protests of an Indian chieftain called "Half King," Captain Chabert de Joncaire took possession of the chosen site. Joncaire passed the winter in the cabin of a trader by the name of John Frazier, where we shall meet him again; Marin soon died. The new fort was completed in the spring of 1754 and, in honor of a favorite of La Pompadour, was named Fort Machault.

Dinwiddie's Protest

It was not long before the news of these French aggressions crossed the mountains to Governor Dinwiddie in Virginia. The situation was serious, for it was unmistakably the French purpose to hem in the English between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic, and the military occupation of the disputed territory had made a great impression upon the Indian tribes resident therein. Dinwiddie determined to send a protest demanding the with-

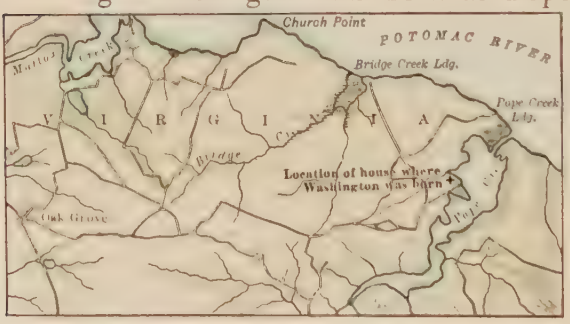
November 17 drawal of the intruders. In a letter to the lords of trade the governor said: "The person sent as a commissioner to the commandant of the French forces neglected his duty and went no further than Logstown on the Ohio. He reports the French were then one hundred and fifty miles further up the river and I believe was afraid to go to them." He then selected for the dangerous mission a tall youth, unknown to fame, Major George Washington, an adjutant-general of the Virginia militia.

George Washington

George Washington was born at Pope's Creek, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the twenty-

February 11, 1731, O. S.

second of February, 1732. His elder half-brother, Lawrence, had been with Admiral Vernon at Cartagena and had given the name "Mount Vernon" to his country seat on the



Map Showing Location of Birthplace of George Washington

Potomac. In 1747, George took up his residence at Mount Vernon with his brother Lawrence who had married Anne, the daughter of Sir William Fairfax, manager of the great estate of his cousin, Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax. 1747 1750

Lord Fairfax

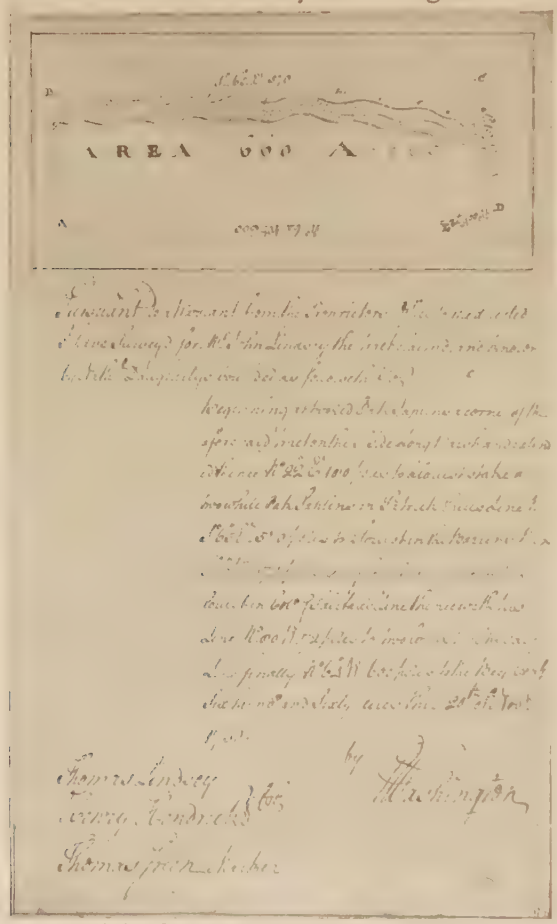
Silver Bowl used at Christening of George Washington

Lord Fairfax, a grandson of Lord Culpeper, had inherited more than five million acres in Virginia. He was a graduate of Oxford and had written for Addison's *Spectator*. To a somewhat eccentric disposition, disappointment in love had added a desire for seclusion, so that, in 1745, he had left England for his Virginia domain. Lord Fairfax soon made the acquaintance of George Washington and was so well impressed by the boy of sixteen that, in 1748, he sent him to survey certain of his lands beyond the Blue Ridge. On the favorable report of the young surveyor, Lord Fairfax took up his residence at Greenway Court, a manor of ten thousand acres on the Shenandoah River, about twelve miles southeast of the present town of Winchester. Washington was a frequent visitor at Greenway Court and, from its owner and those about him, gained a knowledge of men and manners that was to exercise a profound influence upon his character and career. Through Fairfax's favor he obtained a commission as a public surveyor of Culpeper County. This entitled his surveys to a place in the county office; they are still held in high esteem for their completeness and accuracy.

Major Washington

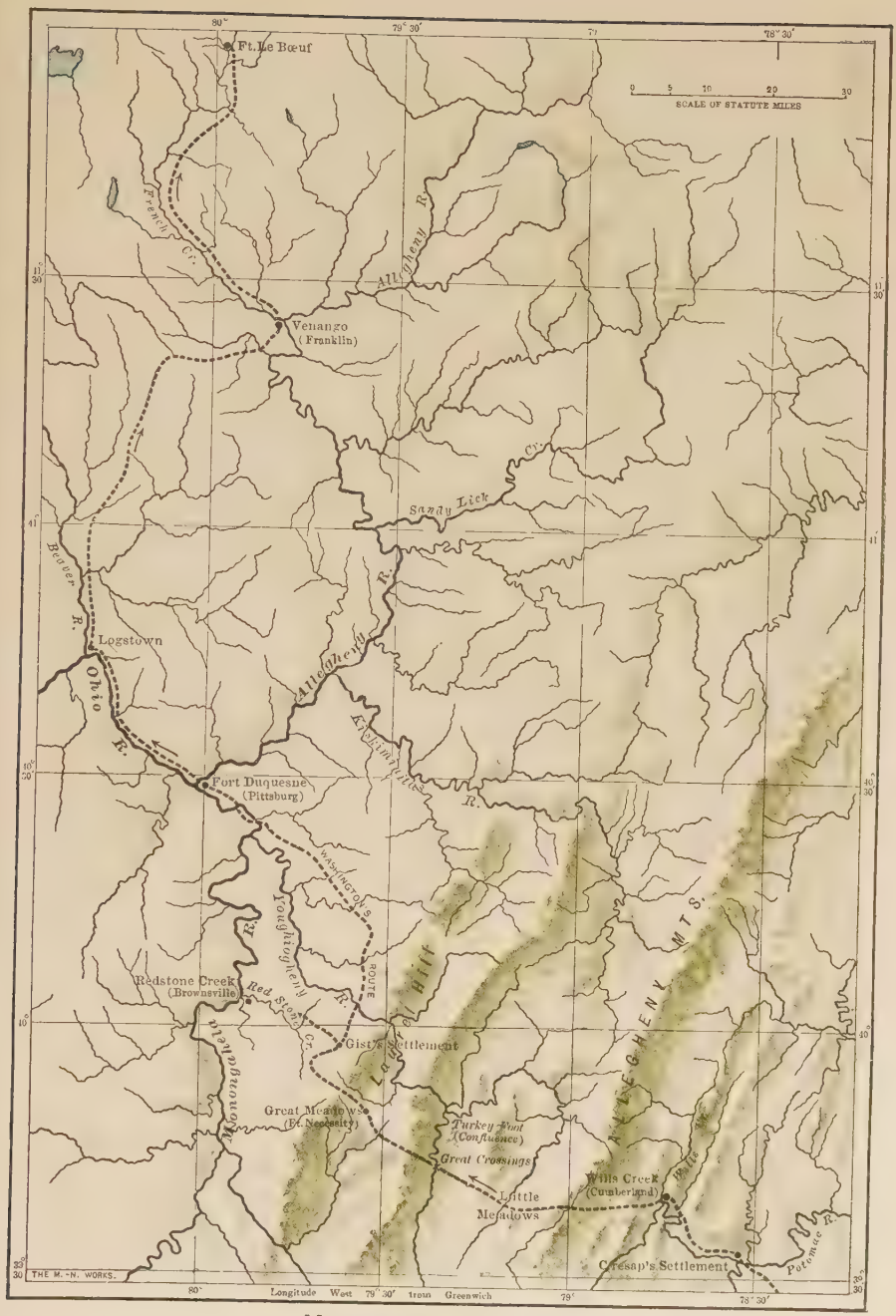
For three years, the young man "roughed it" on the border, strengthening his physique against stress of days to come, learning much of Indian and of Indian trader,

1750 and becoming familiar with the varying phases of frontier
1753 life. When nineteen years of age, he was appointed an adjutant-general of militia with the rank of major. Before he had fairly entered upon the duties of his office, he was called to accompany his brother Lawrence to the West Indies on a voyage undertaken for the health of the latter. In this four months' absence, and in consequence of his punctilious regard for the requirements of courtesy, he experienced an attack of smallpox and thus secured an immunity that was to be of priceless value. Meantime, a new executive had renewed his commission and assigned him to the command of one of the four military divisions of the province. Then came his selection as the bearer of Governor Dinwiddie's message to the French—the flood in the tide of his affairs that was to lead him on to fortune.



Facsimile of a Survey made by George Washington

The Envoy



MAP OF WASHINGTON'S ROUTE

1753 At the end of October, 1753, Washington set out
On the Way from Williamsburg on his journey of six hundred miles, much of which was over mountains and through a wilderness. "Faith, you're a brave lad and, if you play your cards well, you shall have no cause to repent your bargain," exclaimed the old Scotch governor. The next
November 1 day at Fredericksburg, he engaged as his French interpreter Jacob Van Braam, who had been his fencing-master and had served under Lawrence Washington in the Cartagena expedition. Thence he went by way of Alexandria to Winchester where he got baggage, horses, etc. From Winchester he followed the "new Road" used by the Ohio company to Wills Creek, the last Virginian outpost.
November 14 At Wills Creek (now Cumberland), he engaged Christopher Gist, who had lately established a plantation near the Youghiogheny, as guide "to pilot us out." On the following day, Gist led the party of seven horsemen along the main trail to the Ohio, later known as the Nemacolin path from the name of the Delaware Indian who blazed its course under the direction of Thomas Cresap who was acting for the Ohio company.

At Venango The winter came on fierce and early; rain and snow made the way difficult of passage; it took a week to reach the Monongahela. At the mouth of Turtle Creek, Washington met Frazier, the trader whom Joncaire had driven from his cabin at Venango a few weeks before. At the Forks of the Ohio, the wise young strategist chose the site for a fort. At Logstown, fifteen miles down the river, he lingered several days and, diplomat as well as strategist, held a friendly council with the Indians. From Logstown, he was accompanied northward by Half King and three other Indian guides and guards. At Venango,
December 4 the messenger saw the French flag floating over the English trader's house that had been seized as an outpost for Fort Le Bœuf. Joncaire, the French commander of the outpost, received Washington "with the greatest Complaisance" and, over the wine, disclosed the purpose of his government. In his journal Washington wrote: "The Wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully

with it, soon banished the Restraint which at first appeared in their Conversation; and gave a Licence to their Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely. They told me, That it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the Ohio, and by G— they would do it: For that altho' they were sensible the English could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew their Motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs." A brave, shrewd, observant English youth in the wilderness, hundreds of miles from home; tipsy Frenchmen with oaths and boasts; the blazing log fire within and the December cold without— it will be easy for each reader of this page to fill in the picture for himself. 1753

At the French Fort

After sunset of the eleventh of December, Washington arrived at Fort Le Bœuf and, on the following day, delivered to the newly arrived commandant, Legardeur de Saint Pierre, Dinwiddie's protest against the building of French forts on English territory. On the fourteenth, Saint Pierre delivered his answer which was to the effect that he must obey orders and hold the fort while the protest was forwarded to the Marquis Duquesne at Quebec. While the reply was being prepared, the envoy made good use of his "Opportunity of taking the Dimensions of the Fort, and making what observations I could." Because of the snow and the weakened condition of his horses, Washington sent them off unloaded to Venango, "intending myself to go down by Water as I had the Offer of a Canoe or two." The wily French made every effort to win over the Indians, and Washington wrote in his journal: "I can't say that ever in my Life I suffered so much Anxiety as I did in this Affair. I saw that every Stratagem which the most fruitful Brain could invent, was practised, to win the Half-King to their Interest; and that leaving him here was giving them the Opportunity they aimed at." But Half King kept his word and, on the sixteenth, Washington began the terrible homeward march.

The Return

After a strenuous six days' voyage, they arrived at

1753 1754 Venango. After spending four days with Joncaire, Washington and Gist, abandoning Indians and horses, set out afoot for the Forks of the Ohio, leaving Van Braam to bring up the baggage and horses. Washington's journal says: "I took my necessary Papers; pulled off my Cloaths; and tied myself up in a Match Coat. Then with Gun in Hand and Pack at my Back, in which were my Papers and Provisions, I set-out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same Manner, on Wednesday the 26th." On the second of January, they were at Gist's house where the major bought a horse and saddle. Four days later, they "met 17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores, for a Fort at the Forks of Ohio, and the Day after some Families going out to settle"—an enterprise of the Ohio company and the indefatigable Dinwiddie. Just a month from the day he left Fort Le Bœuf and after perilous adventures, marvelous escapes, and much suffering, he arrived at Williamsburg and delivered to Dinwiddie the reply of the chevalier commandant. The governor's council was to meet on the following day. In the interval, the lad of twenty-one rewrote from the "rough minutes" he had made his "Journal" of ten thousand words—a remarkable literary performance. "From that moment," says Irving, "he was the rising hope of Virginia."

January 16, 1754

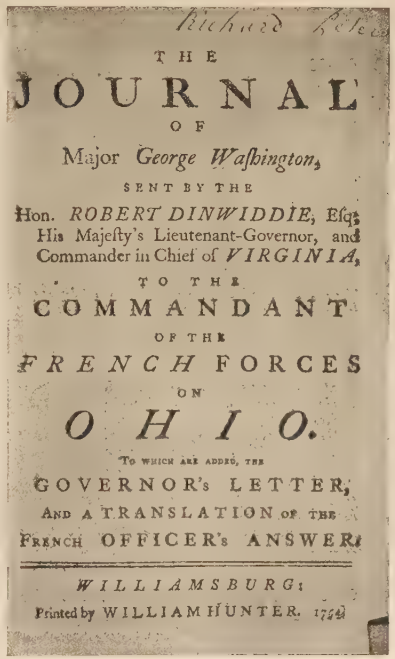
Virginia Prepares to Expel the French

As his protest had thus come to nothing, Dinwiddie assembled his council and, by their advice, determined to expel the French from the disputed territory. One company of a hundred men was to be raised among the traders on the frontier and commanded by Captain William Trent. In February, this company was dispatched across the mountains to the Forks of the Ohio, the gateway of the great West, to complete a fort already begun there by the Ohio company. The command of a second company, to be raised in Frederick and Augusta counties, was given to Major Washington who was ultimately to have command over both. Washington's instructions were to follow Trent as soon as all things were in readiness. He was to act on the defensive, but, in case any

attempts should be made to interfere with the English settlements by any persons whatsoever, he was "to restrain all such offenders and in case of resistance to make prisoners of or kill and destroy them." 1754

As soldiers could not be put in the field and kept there without money, Dinwiddie called on the other colonies for aid and, in order to show the true situation of affairs, transmitted printed copies of Washington's journal of his mission to the French. His reasonable expectations led to little more than disappointment. It was thought not wise to risk a border war to advance the interests of the Ohio company and there was a growing suspicion that the Virginia governor's aims were personal and political rather than patriotic. In New York, Lieutenant-governor De Lancey was urging the assembly to give support to Virginia, and the assembly replied that the French fort "may but does not by any evidence or information appear to us to be an invasion of any of his Majesty's colonies." The western boundary of Pennsylvania had not yet been run and it was not certain whether that province or Virginia had the better claim to the head of the Ohio. Cautiously reserving his territorial rights, the Pennsylvania proprietary was ready to aid Virginia, and Governor Hamilton manifested sympathy, but the Quaker element made determined opposition and the assembly was not sure that the French fortifications were within his majesty's dominions. Governor

The Sister Colonies


Richard Peters

THE

JOURNAL

OF

Major *George Washington*,

SENT BY THE

Hon. *ROBERT DINWIDDIE*, Esq;
His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and
Commander in Chief of *VIRGINIA*,

TO THE

COMMANDANT

OF THE

FRENCH FORCES

ON

O H I O.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, THE

GOVERNOR's LETTER,

AND A TRANSLATION OF THE

FRENCH OFFICER's ANSWER.

WILLIAMSBURG:

Printed by WILLIAM HUNTER. 1754

Title-page of Washington's *Journal*

1754 Glen of South Carolina was offensively indifferent. North Carolina was the only one of all the colonies to vote assistance and even that proved of little use. From his own burgesses, Dinwiddie obtained a grant of ten thousand pounds, but with the proviso that the money should be expended under the direction of a committee — an encroachment that the governor tolerated because of the extreme urgency of the hour.

Lieutenant-colonel Washington

Meanwhile, Dinwiddie hastened forward military preparations. Before Washington had had an opportunity to carry out the instructions that he had received, steps were taken to organize a Virginia regiment of which Joshua Fry, formerly a professor in William and Mary college, was made colonel, and George Washington, lieutenant-colonel. To encourage enlistments, the governor had

February 9–19

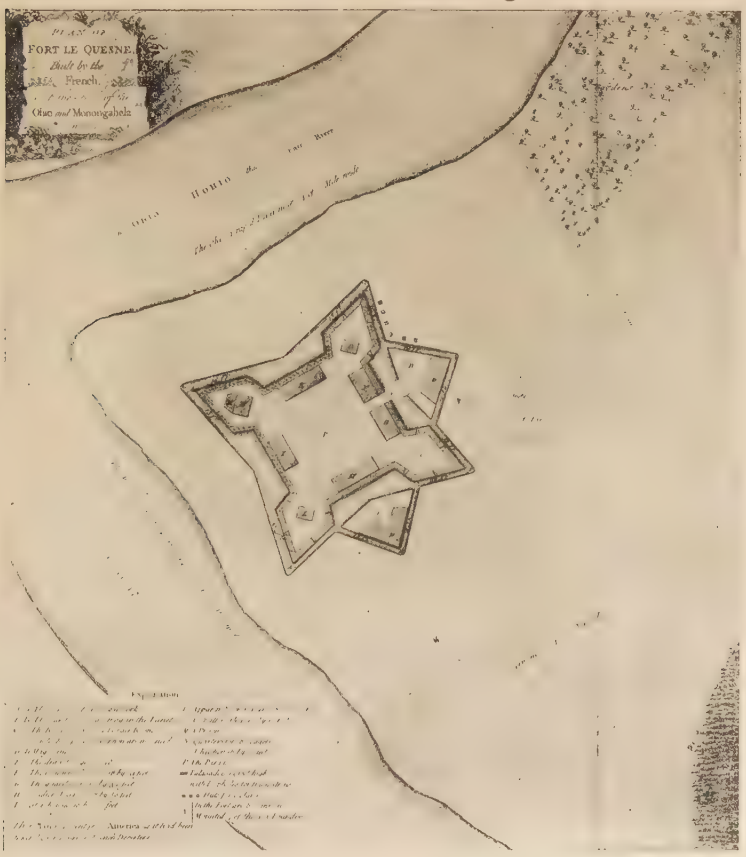
issued a proclamation offering to divide a hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio among those who would defend it. Washington's new commission was dated on the fifteenth of March, 1754, and received by him on the thirty-first. On the second of April, he set out from Alexandria with two companies for the fort that Captain Trent was building at the Forks of the Ohio (Pittsburg). On the way, he was joined by a detachment under Captain Stephen. On the twentieth, he was at Wills Creek where he learned that the fort at the Forks had been

April 17

captured by Contrecœur and an overwhelming force of French who had come down the Allegheny in bateaux and canoes. As his own force amounted to only about one hundred and fifty men, Washington was in no condition to attempt to recapture the lost position. Two days later, the bad news was confirmed and a communication was received from Half King announcing that "We are now ready to fall upon them [the French], waiting only for your assistance." At a council of war held on the twenty-third with his captains, "the youngest of whom was old enough to have been his father," it was decided to go forward for the purpose of clearing a road*

*It is claimed that this was the first wagon road from the Atlantic slope into the Mississippi basin.

over which artillery could pass to the Monongahela and of establishing a fortification at the mouth of Redstone Creek where the Ohio company had magazines "ready to receive our Ammunition & supplies; and [whence] our heavy artillery may be sent by Water whenever it was agreed to attack the Fort." Meantime, the French, untrammeled by colonial jealousies or disputative assemblies, had been building at the Forks of 1754



Plan of Fort Duquesne

the Ohio a larger and stronger defensive work that they named Fort Duquesne.

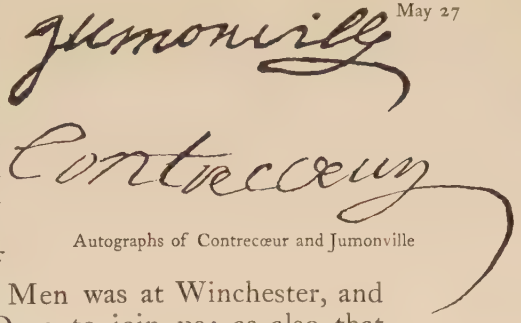
The advance from Wills Creek was begun on the

1754 twenty-ninth of April, threescore men having been sent
At the Great Crossings ahead to widen the Indian trail. The march was so difficult that it took ten days to advance twenty miles. It was slow work "opening a road and building bridges for a colonel and an army" that were never to come, and the lieutenant-colonel in command of the expedition determined to test the possibility of transportation down the Youghiogheny and up the Monongahela to his proposed destination at the mouth of Redstone Creek. On the ninth of May, he wrote to Dinwiddie from Little Meadows. On the eleventh, he sent a reconnoitering party forward to Gist's settlement to look for a party of French that the Indians reported had left Fort Duquesne. On the eighteenth, he wrote from the Great Crossings of the Youghiogheny to the governor, concluding his letter with the assurance that, "as the road to this place is made as good as it can be, having spent much time and great labor upon it, I believe wagons may travel now with 1500 or 1800 weight on them, by doubling the teams at one or two pinches only." The Youghiogheny River being too wide to bridge and too deep to ford "determined me to place myself in a Posture of Defense against any immediate Attack from the Enemy and to go Myself down to observe the river." On the twentieth, he accordingly embarked in a canoe with four men and an Indian. By night, they were at the Turkey Foot (Confluence) where Washington mapped the site for a fort. Below this point, the explorers found the stream difficult and finally "a great rapid obliged us to stop and to come ashore." On the twenty-third, Washington reported to Colonel Fry that the river, "I am sorry to say, can never be made navigable."

At Great Meadows After reaching the Youghiogheny, Washington received a message from Half King to the effect that a French detachment sent out by Contrecœur was marching against him. Washington hastened to take up a position at Great Meadows, fifty-one miles from Wills Creek and five from Laurel Hill. Here he caused a level tract of ground to be cleared of bushes thereby

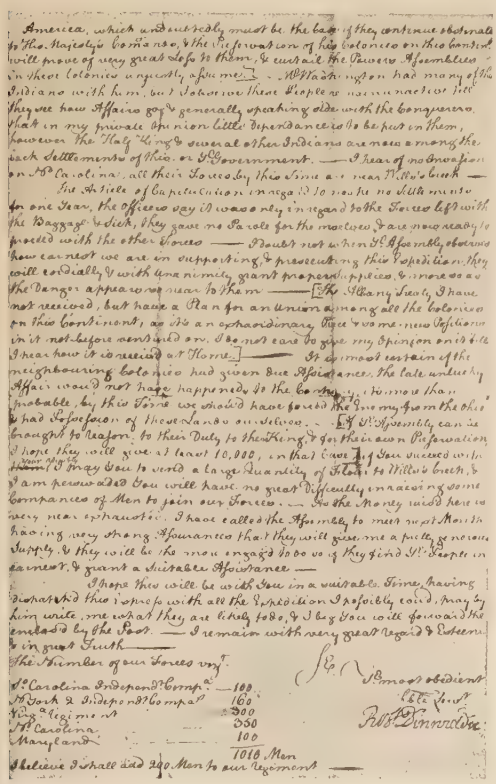
forming what he termed "a charming field for an en- 1754
counter." Parties were sent out to discover the lurking enemy but without success. He was expecting reinforcements soon; on the twelfth of June, an express had come in "with Letters acquainting us that Colonel Fry with a Detachment of more than One Hundred Men was at Winchester, and was to set out in a few Days to join us; as also that Colonel Innes was marching with Three Hundred and Fifty Men raised in North Carolina; that it was expected Maryland would raise Two Hundred Men, and that Pennsylvania had raised Ten Thousand Pounds." In addition to these promises of material, Governor Dinwiddie had written to him that "the Indepen'd't Compa from So. Car. arriv'd two days ago; is compleat; 100 Men besides Officers, and will re-embark for Alex[a] next Week, thence proceed immediately to join Col[o] Fry and You. The two Inde-

May 27



Autographs of Contrecœur and Jumonville

May 4



Letter by Robert Dinwiddie

1754 pend't Compa's from N. York may be Expected in ab't ten days."

The Death of Jumonville

On the evening of the twenty-seventh, a messenger from Half King arrived with the news that the French lay hidden in a glen not far from his village. With a force of forty men Washington hurried to join his Indian ally. The night was rainy, the path was "scarce broad enough for one man," and the forest was, to use Washington's own words, "as dark as pitch." Half King and some of his warriors joined the party and, a little after sunrise, the French camp was discovered. Washington did not know, he could not have known, that the French were the escort of an ambassador—its behavior for the last few days had not been that of an embassy. The English who had floundered and stumbled in a difficult ten-hour night march made the attack. A sharp conflict followed; Jumonville, the French leader, was killed and all of his men but one were killed or captured. The French later asserted that Jumonville had intended merely to warn the English to withdraw and charged Washington with "assassination."

At Fort Necessity

Expecting soon to be attacked by a larger force, Washington returned with his men to Great Meadows where, while waiting for Fry and the promised reinforcements, he employed his men in completing the intrenchments that he called Fort Necessity. On the ninth of June, the rest of the Virginia regiment arrived with Major Muse and nine swivels, but without Colonel Fry who had been thrown from his horse and had died from the injuries thus sustained. Washington therefore found himself continued in command. On the tenth, his force of three hundred men was increased by the arrival of Captain Mackay and his independent company from South Carolina. Colonel Innes, an experienced officer to whom from the first Dinwiddie had intended to give the chief command of the expedition, and his North Carolina regiment did not get to the front, and as Captain Mackay had a commission from the king while Washington had only a commission from a colonial governor, the

South Carolinians were somewhat inclined to "look upon themselves as a distinct body, and will not incorporate and do duty with our men, but keep separate guards and encamp separately." On the fifteenth, Washington "set about clearing the Roads." On the sixteenth, leaving Mackay and his company at Fort Necessity, he "set out for Red-Stone Creek . . . our Waggons breaking very often." On the way, he held a council in the camp with forty Indians, most of them doubtless spies sent by the French—"treacherous devils" he wrote them down. On the twenty-eighth, the road was completed as far as Gist's and thence eight of the sixteen miles to the mouth of Redstone Creek. It is probable that at this time Washington secretly hoped to capture Fort Duquesne. Repeatedly warned by friendly Indians that he would soon be attacked by the French in overwhelming numbers, he sent for Mackay and his men; they arrived on the twenty-eighth of June. Upon receipt of fresh information that the garrison at Fort Duquesne had been reinforced and that a strong French force was moving up the Monongahela, a council of war was held at Gist's house, and it was resolved to fall back. On the first of July, the Virginians and the South Carolinians, quite exhausted, were again at Fort Necessity. Although this position was the best in the neighborhood, it was not altogether favorable; it is said that Washington would have retreated further but for the condition of his men. Under the circumstances he decided that the only practicable thing would be to stay and fight.

1754

June 30

Washington's Surrender

The second of July was spent in strengthening the fortifications. On the third, the fort was attacked by a force under command of Coulon de Villiers, a brother of the "murdered" Jumonville. In spite of the numerical superiority of the French, Washington maintained his position from eleven in the morning until eight at night. During that time, a desultory firing was kept up through a dismal rain, and, at nightfall, the little fort was "half-leg deep of mud." Then Villiers asked for a parley which Washington declined, he thinking it a pretext

1754 to introduce a spy. When the proposal was repeated, Washington sent Captain Van Braam, "who knew little English and no more French." After a long absence, Van Braam returned with the articles of capitulation that Villiers offered. The officers gathered in the rain and, by the glimmer of a sputtering candle, the Dutchman Englished the French paper, mistranslating several passages and rendering the words *l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville* as "the death of Sieur de Jumonville." Washington accepted the terms as he understood them. On the following day, he gave up the fort, his troops marching out with the honors of war. Captains Jacob Van Braam and Robert Stobo were delivered as hostages for the return to Fort Duquesne of the French prisoners taken when Jumonville was killed, they having been sent eastward. We shall hear of Stobo again. The Indian allies of the French killed the cattle and horses of the little English army and murdered and scalped two of the wounded soldiers. Washington led the remnant of his regiment back to Wills Creek where they arrived on the ninth of July. Not an English flag floated in the great Ohio valley on which they turned their backs.

Coulon de Villiers

July 4

Looking Backward

On the thirtieth of August, the Virginia burgesses passed a vote of thanks to "Colonel George Washington, Captain Mackay of his Majesty's Independent Company, and the officers under his command," for their "gallant and brave Behaviour in Defense of their Country." For Washing-

ton, the humiliation of defeat was mitigated by the public realization of the disparity of the forces engaged and of Dinwiddie's failure to forward provisions and reinforcements, but, to the end of his life, the Fourth of July was saddened by his memories of his first and last capitulation. His mortification was further deepened by the governor's obstinate refusal to return the French prisoners as provided by the articles of the "treaty" signed at Fort Necessity. All in all, it was not a glorious beginning of a military career. But to the young officer who led back from the Great Meadows his defeated and dispirited men it had been given to strike the first blow in a conflict that was to be fought out not only in the forests of America but on the plains of Germany, in far away Bengal, and on most of the Seven Seas—a war that was to settle the long mooted question of colonial and commercial supremacy, that was to decide the mastery of the North American continent, and that was to prepare the way for a more important conflict in which he was to be the central figure. 1754

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—PREPARATION

1754
The Three Claimants

AT this time, there were three European claimants for territory in North America. In somewhat general terms it may be said that Spain held Florida and the vast region beyond Louisiana to the Pacific and to Panama; this she called New Spain. France held Canada and Louisiana with the two great waterways that led into the heart of the continent; this she called New France. England held the Hudson Bay country, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Atlantic slope as far south as Georgia. She had clipped her continental claims and was willing "to see the South Sea in the Mississippi River." But Washington and his Virginians had turned their backs on the great valley, leaving France in possession of territory that England claimed and was determined to have.

The Coming Crisis

The antagonistic French and English had long been advancing on converging lines and, as we have seen, the ways met in the Ohio valley. The story of the successive steps of each advance has been told—the picturesque exploration of the country beyond the Blue Ridge by Governor Spotswood and his knights of the golden horseshoe; the fortification of Oswego and the diversion of the profitable traffic with the "Far Indians" from Montreal to Albany; Shirley, Pepperrell, and Louisburg; Iberville, Bienville, and Louisiana; Galissonière and Céloron and the lead plates of the latter; the organization of the Ohio company and the sending out of Gist and

CLAIMS IN NORTH AMERICA, 1754

Prepared by David Maydole Matteson, A. M., Cambridge, Mass.

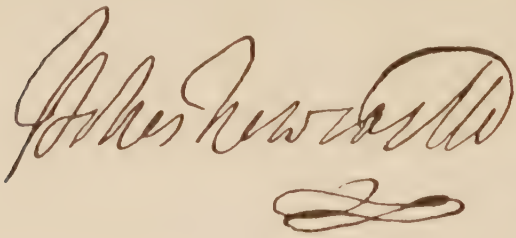
1754 Croghan; Duquesne and the French fort at the Forks of the Ohio; the death of Jumonville and Washington's capitulation at Fort Necessity.

An Irrepressible Conflict

The two nations were seeking the same end by different means. One aimed at a series of fortified posts along the great lakes and the river highways from the Gulf of Saint Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. They intended to keep the foothold that they had back of the English settlements. The English method was to establish colonies west of the Alleghenies and to make them bases for further advances into the country beyond. The two schemes were irreconcilable; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, never more than an historical fact, was a mere reminiscence; a crisis was at hand.

France and England in Europe

The parties to the coming conflict were not unequally matched. Great Britain was less populous than France and her regular military force was far inferior, but she was wealthier, her finances were in much better condition, and her navy was far superior. In that age, there were no railroads, and land transportation was necessarily slow. Sea power, important as it is today, was vastly more important then. In the end, England's command of the sea was to prove decisive. The short-sightedness and the selfishness of the mistress-ridden French court were well balanced by the imbecility of the English ministry. In France, Madame de Pompadour controlled the king, filled the great offices with her creatures, wasted the revenues wrung from the half-starved peasants, and made her personal caprice the source of governmental policy. The head of the government in England was the duke of Newcastle who was strongly inclined to leave unopened official communications of importance and to let the colonists take care of themselves. His



Autograph of the Duke of Newcastle

BOWEN AND GIBSON'S
(From origi

OF NORTH AMERICA, 1755

Library of Congress)

ignorance of colonial affairs was so intense that he was credited by literary men of his time with not suspecting that Cape Breton was an island or that Annapolis was 1754

Des Barres's View of Annapolis

in America. It is said that from his office letters were addressed "To the Governour of the Island of New England." He is described by Addison as a statesman without capacity, a secretary who could not write, a financier who did not know the multiplication table, and the treasurer of a vast empire who could never balance accounts with his own butler. He ruled by bribery and hung about the neck of power with a tenacity like that of the "Old Man of the Sea."

France and England in America

As regards their American colonies, each belligerent had some sources of strength and some of weakness. The population of New France was probably little more than eighty thousand; that of the English continental colonies about a million and a quarter. Nearly all of the English colonists were concentrated in the long coastal plain east of the Appalachians. The population of New France was scattered all the way from the Saint Lawrence gulf westward and southward to far-away New Orleans. But this vastness of New France and this dispersion of its population had an element of strength as well as one

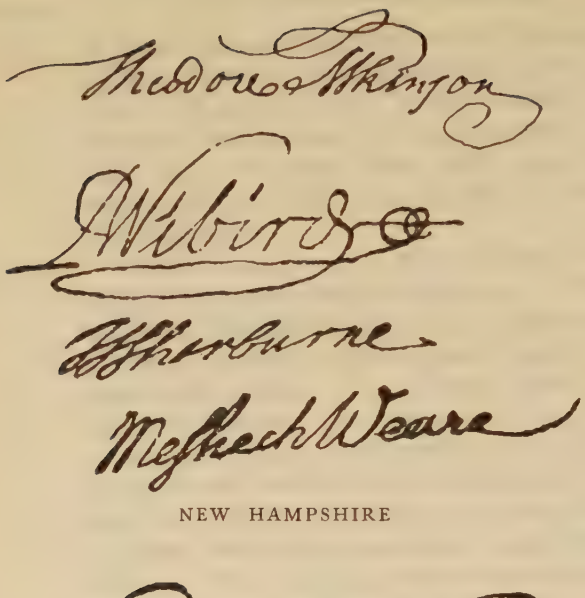
1754 of weakness. Ensconced behind shaggy peaks and labyrinthine forests, her inhabitants were well protected from serious overland attack, while they, inured to hardship and trained to border warfare, could sally forth with their barbarian allies, fall upon some unguarded settlement, and then vanish into the wilderness whence they had come.

Characteristics

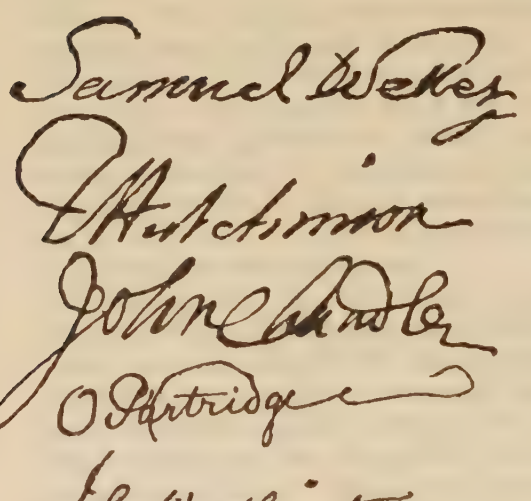
Furthermore, the people of New France were more unified than were their opponents. Omitting the Hudson Bay company, there were, in the continental English colonies, thirteen separate governments in addition to the home authorities. In most of these thirteen, chronic quarrels between governors and assemblies made any continuous policy impossible, while in Pennsylvania the problem was still further complicated by the fact that a large part of the population was made up of non-resistant Quakers and of Germans who cared little for the British empire. Provincial ignorance and short-sightedness were equaled only by English inefficiency. In New France, there was no popular legislature to embarrass the central authority. The people obeyed the word of command; the autocratic government forced every man into the ranks; there were no troublesome questions about the length of service or the amount of pay. The commissariat and the transport departments were, however, honeycombed with corruption.

Indian Relations

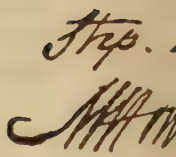
French policy left the Indian in possession of his ancestral hunting-grounds; the English colonist professed to pay for his title to the soil before he occupied it. Perplexed by the relative advantages of the two methods, some of the aborigines accepted one and some the other and, in cases not a few, were willing to take one today and the other tomorrow. Both of the rival claimants understood the importance of an energized alliance with the Iroquois, and the "New World Romans" understood it just as well. There were moments of indecision and occasional defections but, in general, the Iroquois adhered to the English as against the French. Most of the other Indian tribes were active allies of the French.



NEW HAMPSHIRE



MASSACHUSETTS



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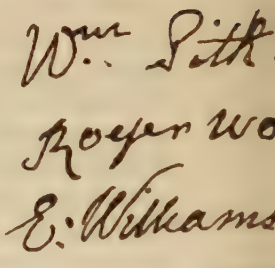

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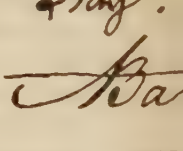
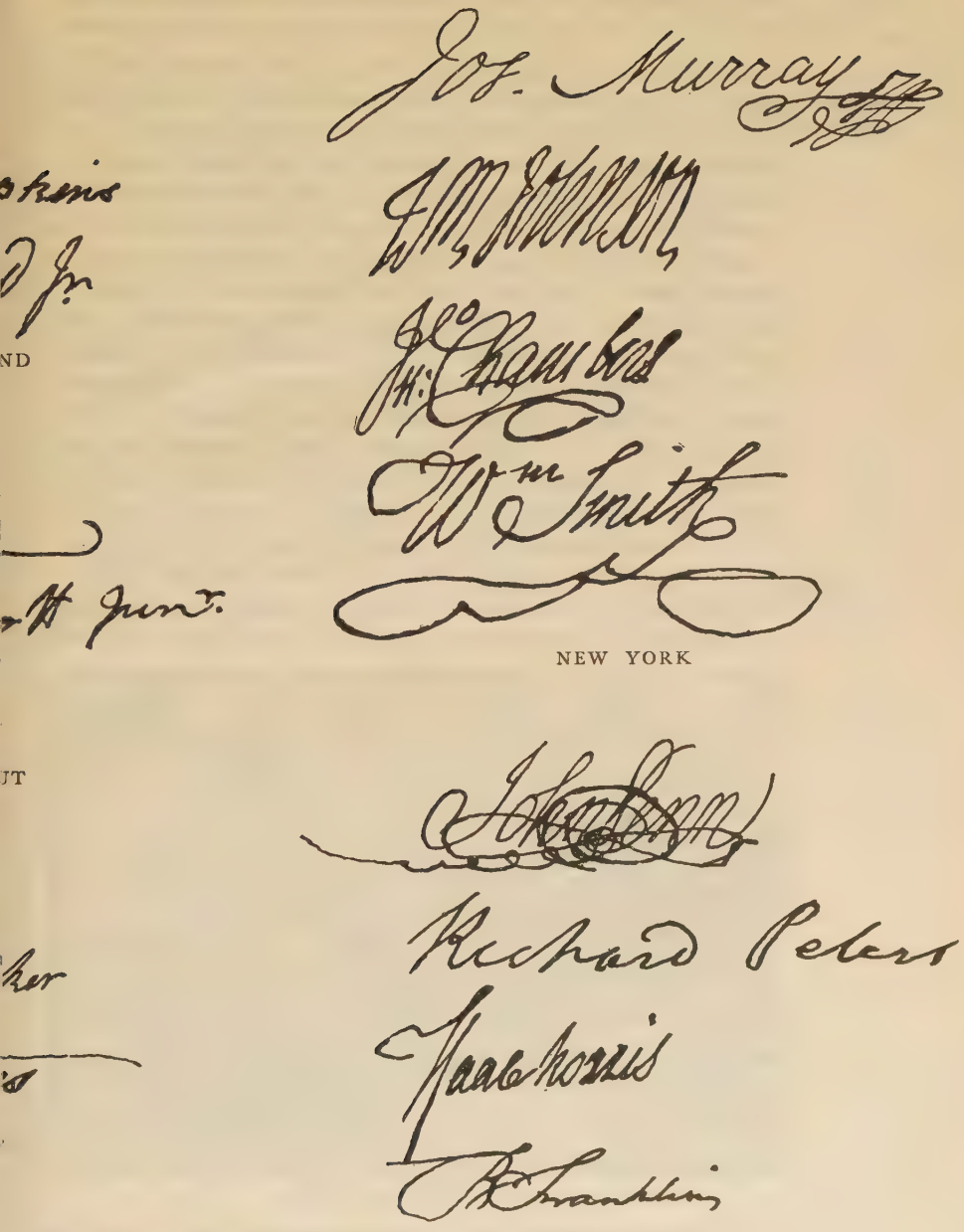


MAR

SIGNATURES OF THE MEMBERS
(From originals in



THE ALBANY CONVENTION OF 1754
v York Public Library)

1754 The Albany Conference

The importance of maintaining the ancient alliance with the Six Nations was well understood by the English. In obedience to an order from the lords of trade (probably issued at the instigation of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts) and under the incentive of a common peril, commissioners from seven colonies met at Albany on the nineteenth of June, 1754, and there held a number of conferences with the Iroquois. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were represented by twenty-five delegates, conspicuous among whom were Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, Roger Wolcott of Connecticut, William Johnson of New York, and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania. Virginia and South Carolina sent expressions of sympathy but no representatives.

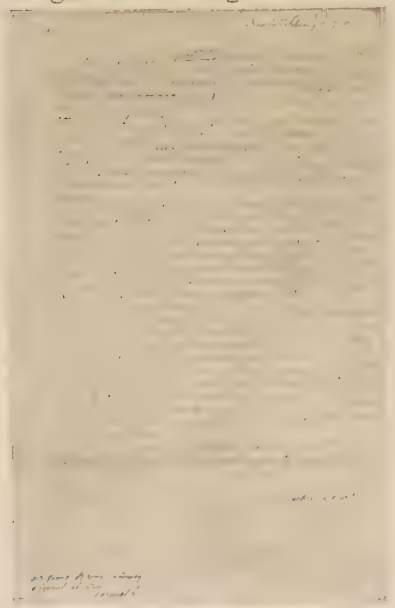
Indian Complaints

The Indians were in a bad humor and made many complaints. Holding in his hand the chain belt of wampum presented by the commissioners, Hendrick, a

Map of Pennsylvania, 1754

sachem of the Mohawks, who spoke for all the nations, promised that the "covenant chain" of friendship with

1754 the English should be renewed and brightened, but he admitted that some of his people had been drawn away to the French and attributed it to English neglect. Taking a stick and throwing it backward, he said: "You have thus thrown us behind your back and disregarded us, whereas the French are a subtle and vigilant people, ever using their utmost endeavors to seduce and bring our people over to them. . . . The governor of Virginia and the governor of Canada are both quarreling about lands which belong to us, and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction." He and other Indians spoke with equal directness of the sale at Albany of arms and ammunition to be used against the English and their allies in the valley of the Ohio.



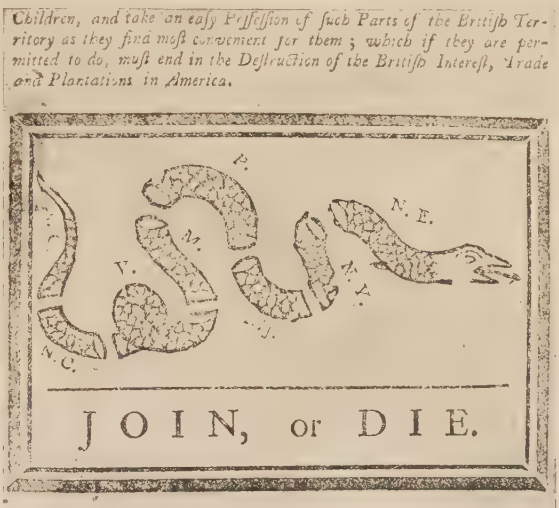
Letter by James Alexander Relative to Lands Confirmed to Penn by the Iroquois

Troublesome Land Cessions

Although the Iroquois were somewhat conciliated by gifts and promises, the results of the conference with them were in the main unsatisfactory; in some respects, the conference was productive of more evil than good. While it was in progress, agents from two colonies obtained land cessions that were to be sources of much future trouble. Despite the protests of Pennsylvania, the agents of the Susquehanna

July 11 company secured from the Mohawks a cession of lands covered by overlapping royal grants to Connecticut and Pennsylvania, as related in the preceding chapter. For four hundred pounds in coin, half of which was paid down, the Pennsylvania proprietors obtained from the Iroquois a grant to all lands in Pennsylvania south and

west of a line drawn northwest to Lake Erie from the mouth of what is now Penn's Creek, about four or five miles south of the forks of the Susquehanna. This cession was not agreed upon in the council of Onondago and, in 1755, the Indians declared they would not receive the second installment of the pay agreed upon. Three years later, the proprietors, as a matter of good policy, deeded back all of the land that lay west of the Alleghenies. Both these cessions were made without the consent of the Shawnees and the Delawares, the real occupants of the territory, and tended still further to embitter the relations between the despoiled Indians and the English. 1754


Children, and take an eaſy Poſſeſſion of ſuch Parts of the Britiſh Territory as they find moſt convenient for them; which if they are permitted to do, muſt end in the Deſtruction of the Britiſh Intereſt, Trade and Plantations in America.

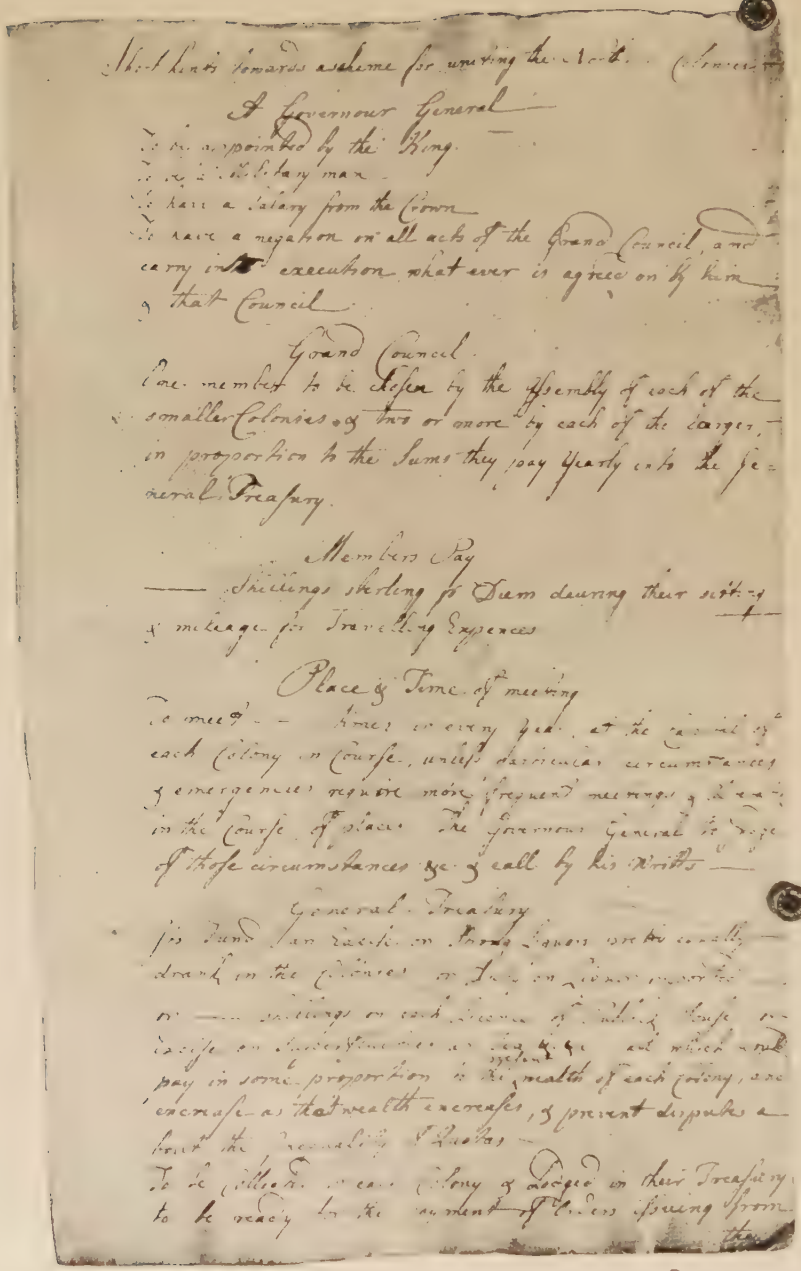
We hear that the General Aſſembly of this Province have voted the Sum of Ten Thouſand Pounds to be given to the King's Uſe at this Time; and alſo Five Hundred Pounds, to be given in Behalf of this Province, as a Preſent to the Indians of the Six Nations at the Treaty propoſed to be held at Albany in June next.

Captain Cotton, from Barbadoes, adviſes, that off of Guadaloupe he was boarded by a French Guard de Coaſt, who, after aſking him ſome Queſtions, and trying his Rum, Sugar, &c. left him, and went on board Capt. Lowther, of and for this Place from the ſame Iſland, of whom there is no Account ſince.

Part of First Page of *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 9, 1754, where Franklin's Device "Join, or Die" appeared for the First Time

Plans for Continental Union

While these negotiations were going on at Albany, the commissioners had been considering another important subject. The first sharp clang of war struck by the young Virginian was still sounding, and the necessity of some form of union for mutual defense had taken firm hold of many minds and had been graphically expressed by the *Pennsylvania*



Short Hints towards a scheme for uniting the Colonies

A Governour General

To be appointed by the King.

To be a Military man.

To have a Salary from the Crown.

To have a negative on all acts of the Grand Council, and carry into execution what ever is agreed on by him & that Council.

Grand Council.

One member to be chosen by the Assembly of each of the smaller Colonies or two or more by each of the larger, in proportion to the Sums they pay Yearly into the General Treasury.

Members Pay

—— Shillings sterling p Diem during their sitting & mileage for Travelling Expences.

Place & Time of meeting

To meet — times in every year at the capital of each Colony in Course, unless particular circumstances & emergencies require more frequent meetings & that in the Course of places the Governour General to judge of those circumstances be & call by his Writts.

General Treasury

Sir Hand Jan Excise on Wines Liquors to be readily drawn in the Colonies or Duty on Goods imported to — shillings in each Province of Military Force to encrease or Succession as Wealth & Trade encreases all which are to pay in some proportion to the wealth of each Colony, and encrease as that wealth encreases, to prevent disputes about the Proportion of Quotas.

To be collected in each Colony & lodged in their Treasury, to be ready to the Warrant of the Gen. issuing from the

First Page of Franklin's "Short Hints" for Uniting the Colonies

Gazette's rough imagery in which the provinces were represented as a snake cut in pieces, with the motto beneath it, "Join, or Die." Before the congress was a week old, a motion was made "that the commissioners deliver their opinion whether a Union of all the Colonies is not at present absolutely necessary for their security and defence and it passed in the affirmative unanimously." Then it was ordered that "a Committee be appointed to prepare and receive Plans or Schemes for the Union of the Colonies, and to digest them into one general plan for the inspection of this Board," and that the committee consist of one member from each of the seven colonies represented. 1754 June 24

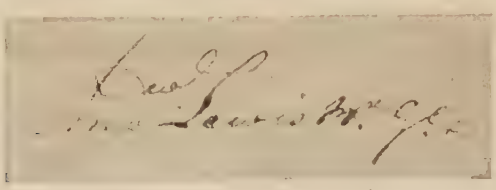
Among the plans presented was one prepared by Franklin who, in his autobiography, says: "Mine happen'd to be preferr'd, and, with a few amendments, was accordingly reported. By this plan the general government was to be administered by a president-general, appointed and supported by the crown, and a grand council was to be chosen by the representatives of the several colonies, met in their respective assemblies. The debates upon it in Congress went on daily hand in hand with the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were started but at length they were all overcome and the plan was unanimously agreed to and copies ordered to be transmitted to the Board of Trade and to the assemblies of the several provinces. Its fate was singular: the assemblies did not adopt it as they thought there was too much *prerogative* in it, and in England it was judg'd to have too much of the *democratic*." Franklin's Plan

Although the proposed plan came to naught, representative men had formally declared that colonial union was a necessity. Thus the congress of 1754 paved the way for the congresses of 1765 and 1774. Governor Shirley said that it showed the need, not only of a parliamentary union but also of taxation by parliament for the preservation of his majesty's dominions, "which the several dominions have in so great a measure abandoned the defence of." But the Albany conference soon dropped The Effect

1754 out of the minds of most men. English colonists and English statesmen had more pressing things of which to think.

Indian Activity

Following the military disaster at Fort Necessity and the Albany congress, came an unwonted activity of the Indians on the border. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Andrew Lewis with a force of rangers and Cherokees to patrol the frontiers and did all that man could do to rouse his burgesses and the other English colonies to active coöperation. After one failure to obtain from the burgesses a grant unencumbered with restrictions that he could not accept, he was able, in October, to secure an appropriation of twenty thousand pounds, but the responses he received from the other colonies were, in the main, discouraging.



Autograph of Andrew Lewis

General Braddock

By this time, however, the death of Jumonville, the surrender of Fort Necessity, and Governor Dinwiddie's appeals had roused the English ministry to more energetic action. With these influences must be counted the fact that, in 1748, the young earl of Halifax had been made president of the board of trade, and that Halifax was disposed to magnify his office. It was largely through his efforts that the home government resolved no longer to submit to French encroachments in America. Although the ambassadors of both powers continued to give assurances of pacific intentions, instructions were sent from England to raise in the colonies two royal regiments as colonels of which Shirley and Pepperrell were designated. The forty-fourth and the forty-eighth regiments of the line of five hundred men each were given orders to sail from Ireland for Virginia where each was to be increased by enlistment to seven hundred men; ten thousand pounds, permission to draw bills for ten thousand more, and two thousand stands of arms were also

sent. General Edward Braddock, a soldier of the bull-dog type, rough, brutal, narrow, and brave, was appointed to the chief command. 1754 September 24

The French court soon received news of this English activity and resolved to send to sea a counter-expedition. A fleet of eighteen vessels under command of Admiral Dubois de la Motte with three thousand troops under Baron Dieskau, a German veteran, set sail for Canada in the spring of 1755. With them went as governor-general, Duquesne's successor, Marquis de Vaudreuil, a younger son of the former governor of that name. With secret instructions to intercept this French fleet, two English fleets were sent to sea, one under Admiral Boscawen and another under Admiral Holbourne. The actual belligerents were nominally at peace and "the diplomats of the two crowns bowed across the Channel and protested to each other that it all meant nothing." Most of the French vessels, including the one that carried Vaudreuil, eluded the English, but three of them fell in with Boscawen's fleet off Cape Race. Without giving warning, the English began to pour in broadsides which the French returned as best they could. Favored by a fog, one of the three escaped but the other two were forced to strike their colors. As the French government had given notice that the first hostile gun fired at sea would be accepted as a declaration of war, Admiral Boscawen's interference gave a shock to the diplomatic fiction that England and France were at peace. Vaudreuil and Dieskau May 3 June 8

CHAPTER III

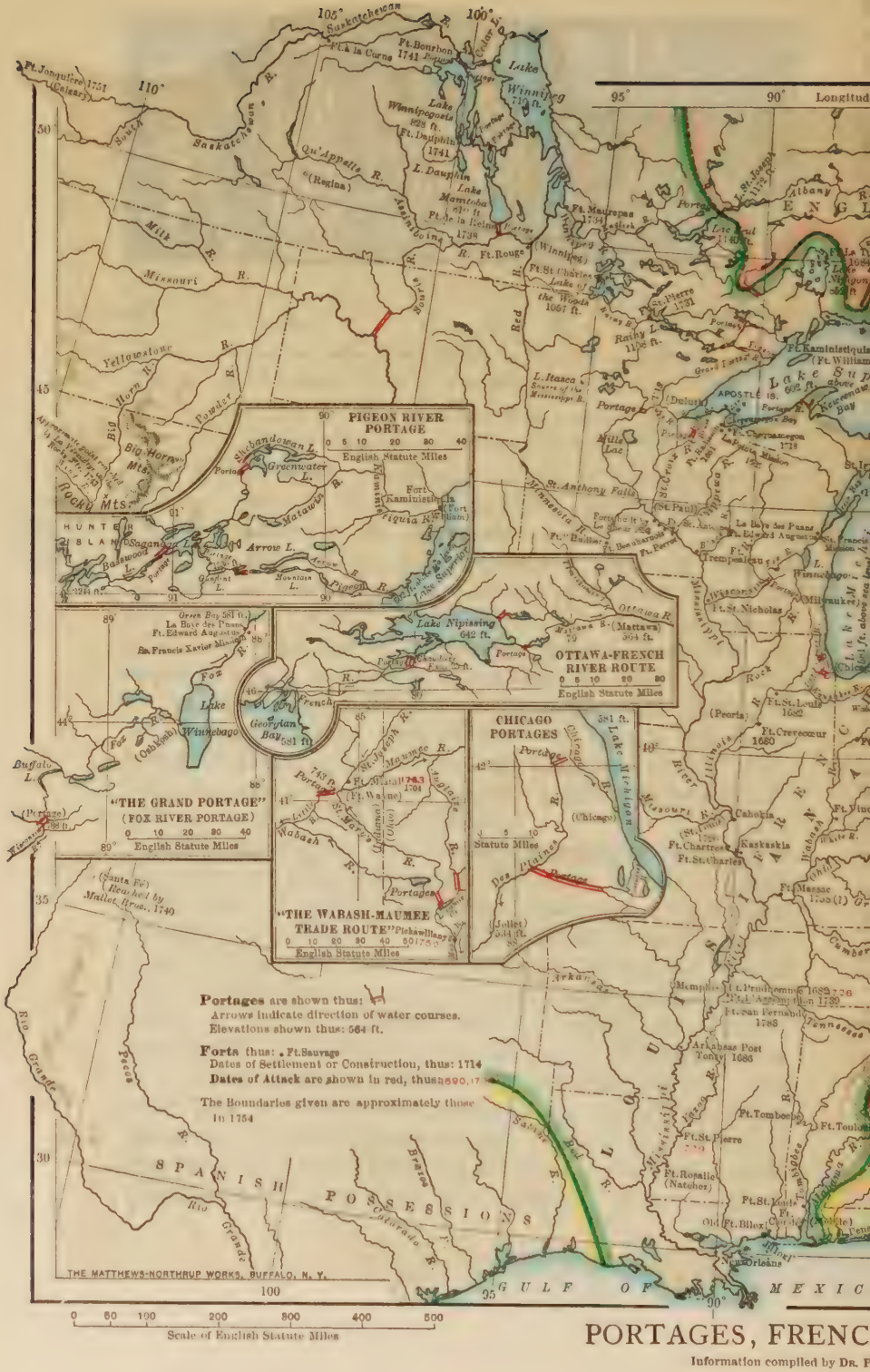
THE QUADRILATERAL CAMPAIGN OF 1755—THE BRADDOCK EXPEDITION

1755
Braddock Meets the Provincial Governors

GENERAL Braddock arrived at Hampton, Virginia, in February, and his two regiments disembarked at Alexandria before the end of March. One of his first important measures was to convoke an assembly of provincial governors. On the fourteenth of April, at Alexandria, he met Sharpe of Maryland who, before Braddock's arrival, had held an appointment as provisional commander-in-chief; De Lancey of New York; Morris of Pennsylvania; Shirley of Massachusetts, who, despite the fact that a few years before at Paris he had married the daughter of his landlord, was still as anxious as ever to conquer New France; and the now optimistic Dinwiddie.

Great Expectations

With these governors Braddock arranged the details of a plan for a fourfold attack upon the French. Braddock was to march upon Fort Duquesne, Governor Shirley upon Niagara, Colonel William Johnson upon Crown Point, and Lieutenant-colonel Monckton was to capture Fort Beausejour on the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with the mainland and to reduce the French inhabitants in that region to subjection. All these places were upon territory claimed by the English—it was held that to attack them would be merely to expel intruders; in fact, however, the French had been in possession of Crown Point for almost a generation and of Niagara for three-quarters of a century. After capturing


PIGEON RIVER PORTAGE
0 5 10 20 30 40
English Statute Miles
OTTAWA-FRENCH RIVER ROUTE
0 5 10 20 30
English Statute Miles
CHICAGO PORTAGES
0 5 10
Statute Miles
"THE GRAND PORTAGE" (FOX RIVER PORTAGE)
0 10 20 30 40
English Statute Miles
"THE WABASH-MAUMEE TRADE ROUTE"
0 10 20 30 40 50
English Statute Miles
Portages are shown thus:
Arrows indicate direction of water courses.
Elevations shown thus: 564 ft.
Forts thus: . Ft. Sauvage
Dates of Settlement or Construction, thus: 1714
Dates of Attack are shown in red, thus 1690, 17
The Boundaries given are approximately those in 1754
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
GULF OF MEXIC
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of English Statute Miles

PORTAGES, FRENC

Information compiled by Dr. F

West from Greenwich
James Bay
East Main R.
Ft. Albany 1686, 1692
Ft. Charles
Ft. Rupert
Ft. Hayes (Ft. Moose) 1686
Albany R.
Moose R.
Rupert R.
Lake Mistassini
HUDSON BAY
COMPANY
Abitibi Lake 1686
Fort des Abitibis
Portage
Michipicoten 1783
L. Timiskaming
Ft. Sauvage
Ottawa
Nipissing 642 ft.
Michilimackinac 1670 MAN. TOULIN
Georgian Bay
Lake Huron
L. Toronto (L. Simcoe) 710 ft.
1749 Ft. Rouille (Toronto)
(Hamilton)
Niagara Falls
1678
Ft. Niagara
Lake Ontario
Ft. St. Joseph
L. St. Clair
Pontchartrain (Detroit) 1701
1763
Lake Erie
573 ft. above sea level
Chautauqua L.
Ft. Presque Isle
Venango
Old Fort Sandusky
Ft. Miami 1763
Portage
Logstown
Ft. Duquesne
Ft. Pitt
Ft. Granville
Ft. Augusta 1756
Ft. Shirley
Ft. Loudoun 1756-57
Ft. Frederick
Bedford
Ft. Necessity
Ft. Cumberland
Piekawillany 1752
Miami R.
Ohio R.
Kanawha R.
Kentucky R.
Ft. Chiswell
St. Marys R.
Wabash R.
Illinois R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Roanoke R.
Edenton
Yeouse R.
Ft. Dobbs 1750
New Berne
C. Lookout
C. Fear
Ft. Prince George 1760
Ft. Augusta
Ft. Moore
Ft. Edisto
Charles Town 1706
Savannah R.
Ft. Argyle
Ft. George
Frederica
ST. SIMON I.
1742
Ft. St. Andrew
Ft. William
Ft. St. George
Ft. Diego
St. Augustine 1702, 1740, 1743
St. Marks
SPANISH FLORIDA
Ft. Toulouse
Alabama R.
Tombigbee R.
Mobile
Pensacola
Ft. St. Louis de la Mobile
Ft. Conde
Ft. Rosalie
Natchez
Ft. Chartres
Ft. Massac
Ft. Vincennes
Ft. Ouiatenon
Ft. Miamis
Ft. Wayne
Ft. Sandusky
Ft. Detroit
Ft. Michilimackinac
Ft. Frontenac (Kingston)
Ft. Toniata
Ft. Venango 1754 (Franklin)
977 ft.
Ft. Le Boeuf 1753, 1763
(Warren)
Ft. Presque Isle (Erie)
1290 ft.
Chautauqua Lake
(Jamestown)
(New York)
(Pennsylvania)
Lake Erie 573 ft.
(Dunkirk)
Portage
Conewango Cr.
Cassawaga L.
Venango R.
Allegheny R.
Ohio R.
Beaver R.
Muskingum R.
Scioto R.
Sandusky R.
Maumee R.
Miami R.
Wabash R.
Illinois R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Roanoke R.
Yeouse R.
Chattahoochee R.
Apalachicola R.
Flint R.
Chattahoochee R.
Mississippi R.
Red R.
Arkansas R.
Missouri R.
Illinois R.
Wisconsin R.
Fox R.
Green Bay
Lake Michigan
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Georgian Bay
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Niagara R.
St. Lawrence R.
Ottawa R.
Gatineau R.
Richelieu R.
Lake Champlain
Hudson R.
Mohawk R.
Oswego R.
Genesee R.
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Potomac R.
Rappahannock R.
York R.
James R.
Chesapeake Bay
Albemarle Sound
Pamlico Sound
Cape Fear R.
Pee Dee R.
Santee R.
Edisto R.
Combahee R.
Savannah R.
Ogeechee R.
Altamaha R.
St. Johns R.
St. Mary's R.
Suwannee R.
Apalachee Bay
Escambia R.
Perdido R.
Mississippi Sound
Lake Pontchartrain
Lake Borgne
Lake Maurepas
Lake Pontchartrain
Lake Michigan
Lake Superior
Lake Huron

Fort Duquesne, Braddock was to join Shirley at or before Niagara and, after the success expected there, turn his attention to Crown Point if Johnson needed his assistance. We shall see that none of these schemes brought any glory to English arms and that one of them left a stain upon the English name. 1755

Dinwiddie's Irritation

The carrying out of Braddock's movement against Fort Duquesne was greatly hampered by the slowness displayed by many of the colonies in bending their backs to the common burden. On the thirtieth of April, Dinwiddie wrote to Lord Halifax: "Our assembly meets tomorrow, w'n I shall strongly solicit them for a further Supply, but I greatly dread Success from the Backwardness of the two Proprietary gov'ts of Pennsylvania and M'yl'd who have refused any Supply on y's Emergency. I am sorry there are any Proprietary Gov'ts on y's Con't, for they are litigiously wanton of their Liberties and Charters. I wish the Proprietors well, but I wish the Crown w'd make a proper purchase from them, or at least take the Rules of Gov't into their own Hands, for I think there never was such monstrous ill-conduct from any set of People in Time of so great Danger. An Union of the Colonies is greatly to be desired, but even then these Colonies will continue obstinate and fractious, unless a general Tax is laid on all the Colonies by a British Act of Parliament." In subsequent letters he had somewhat more favorable news to report, but of all the contributions promised by the colonies, the grant made by South Carolina was the only one any part of which reached the hands of the general-in-chief.

Braddock's Complaints

Braddock himself chafed exceedingly at what an American writer has called "the equivocating system of shuffling delay and petty economy which too often characterized" the assemblies. Like Dinwiddie, he was especially bitter against Pennsylvania which, he wrote, "will do nothing and furnisheth the French with whatever they have occasion for." In another letter he said: "I cannot sufficiently express my indignation against the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, whose interest being alike

1755 concerned in the event of this expedition, and much more so than any on this continent, refuse to contribute anything towards the project; and what they propose is made upon no other terms than such as are altogether contrary to the king's prerogatives and to the instructions he has sent their governors." He commended the New England colonies as having shown a martial spirit and excepted Virginia from reproach, but he declared that in general the colonies had "shown much negligence for his Majesty's service and their own interests" and recommended the "laying of a tax upon all of his Majesty's dominions in America agreeably to the result of council, for reimbursing the great sums that must be advanced for the service and interest of the colonies in this important crisis."

The Clamor for Parliamentary Interference

Braddock and Dinwiddie were not alone in believing that a policy of taxation and enforced unity of action in American affairs was necessary. The governors at the Alexandria conference had unanimously expressed a like opinion, and the king had done what he could to unite his American dependencies by military rule. In all the colonies, soldiers and civilians were declaring that there was no hope of securing united effort and a general fund by appeals to the local legislatures. In fact, the British ministry heard a general clamor from Englishmen in America for parliamentary action along this line. The most consistent and conspicuous opponent of this policy was Benjamin Franklin. Undoubtedly the behavior of the assemblies in this crisis and the recommendations resulting therefrom had much to do with the adoption of such measures after the close of the war.

The Virginia Route

The difficulties in Braddock's way were still further increased by the fact that a mistake had been made in choosing the route to be taken. If the troops had been landed at Philadelphia instead of Alexandria, much of the way to Fort Duquesne would have lain through the more settled country of Pennsylvania, the distance would have been shortened, and time, labor, and money would have been saved. It is said that the route actually taken was

prescribed by the duke of Newcastle as a result of influence brought to bear by John Hanbury, one of the founders of the Ohio company, which would be benefited if the expedition took the route it actually did. Moreover, previous expeditions had blazed the way that Braddock was to follow; Dinwiddie, who had been the leading spirit in the enterprise, was willing to have the Virginia route developed; and Pennsylvania had been provokingly indifferent. 1755

Franklin's Efficiency

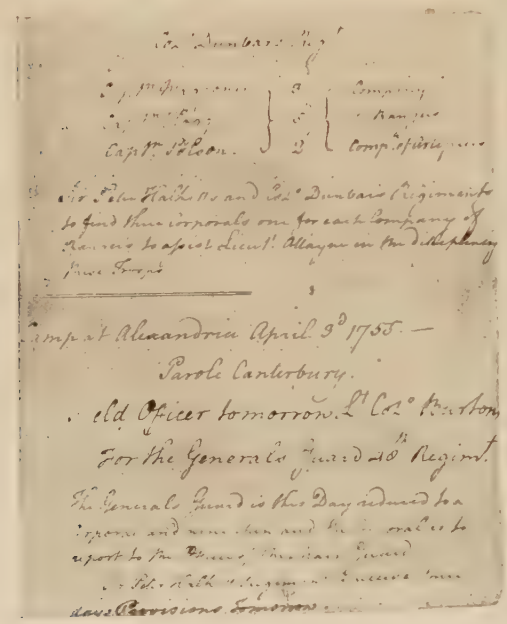
Sir John Saint Clair, Braddock's deputy quartermaster-general, who had passed through Maryland and Virginia, had already decided upon the route to Fort Cumberland, the point of rendezvous. Braddock had written to the duke of Newcastle that he would be beyond the Allegheny mountains by the end of April, but at that time he was at Frederick, Maryland, and unable to advance because the horses and wagons needed had not been furnished according to promise. When all other means of securing them had failed and Braddock had become impatient, the adroitness and personal influence of Franklin obtained them from the Pennsylvania farmers. Braddock characterized Franklin's action as almost the first instance of integrity, address, and ability he had met with in all the provinces.

Sir Peter Halket

By the tenth of May, Braddock was at Fort Cumberland (Wills Creek), one hundred and thirty miles from the Forks of the Ohio, where, about this time, Contrecœur, the French commander, completed Fort Duquesne. By the middle of the month, the force collected at Fort Cumberland numbered a little more than two thousand men, including the two regular regiments that had been

At Fort Cumberland

1755 increased by enlistment to about seven hundred men each, nine companies of Virginians, and a detachment of thirty sailors. The troops were divided into two brigades, of which the first was commanded by Sir Peter Halket and the second by Colonel Dunbar. The general's aides-de-camp were captains Robert Orme, Roger Morris, and Colonel George Washington. Washington was making the campaign at Braddock's invitation. In the preceding October, he had resigned because, under the new military system established by Dinwiddie, there would be no officer in the Virginia regiment above the rank of captain and he was unwilling to accept a lower commission than the one he held. As Braddock's invitation to serve as a member of his staff surmounted the difficulties regarding rank, he had accepted it with pleasure.

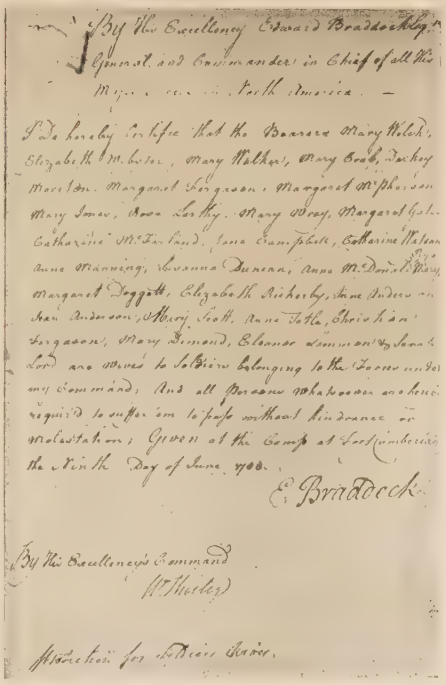


Page from Braddock's Order-Book in Washington's Handwriting

Braddock's Complacence

Unfortunately, the general was not always equally wise. It was not long before Shirley's son, who was Braddock's secretary, was writing that the general was in almost every respect disqualified for the task he had undertaken, and Washington expressed the opinion that he was incapable of giving up any point he had asserted, "be it ever so incompatible with reason or common sense." Braddock had an unbounded confidence in the almost exclusive merits of regular troops and methods, was little inclined

to conceal the disdain he felt for his Indian enemies or allies, and took little note of suggestions made by others. At Frederick, he remarked to Franklin that he expected to be detained only three or four days at Fort Duquesne and would then push on to Niagara and Frontenac. Franklin suggested the danger of Indian ambuscades and the possibility that the enemy might cut the slender line four miles long that the army must make while on the march. Braddock smiled at Franklin's ignorance and replied that the savages might be a formidable enemy to raw American militia, but that upon the king's disciplined troops it was impossible that they could make an impression. He took some pains to secure Indian allies, but his coldness and disdain repelled those who joined him and only eight out of fifty remained with him until the end. 1755



Braddock's Order for the Protection of the Wives of Certain Soldiers

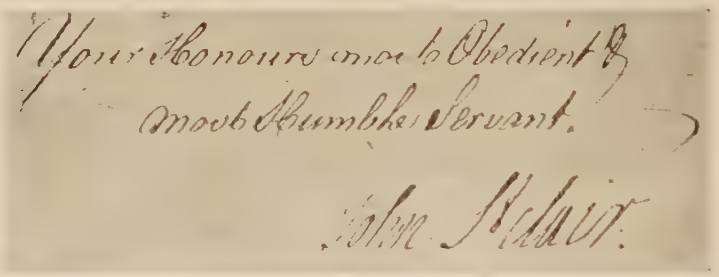
The Braddock Road

Franklin's horses and wagons having arrived and other necessary preparations having been made, the march was resumed, Braddock leaving the fort with the last detachment on the tenth of June. Four miles west of Cumberland, the army entered the mountains by the gap through which the Baltimore and Ohio railway runs. Thence it followed the route over which Washington had gone the year before, the axes widening the way. Encumbered as the army was with baggage and

1755 artillery, the advance was necessarily slow. White pines stood close together on the mountains and men grew weary with the unaccustomed toil. It was a more serious attempt at building a military road than had previously been made in this country. Meantime, as requested by Braddock in February, Governor Morris of Pennsylvania was pushing westward from Carlisle, by way of Shippensburg and Raystown, what is known as Burd's road. It was intended that this road should join the one that Braddock was now making at the "Great Crossings" of the Youghiogheny River, where Smithfield, Pennsylvania, now is. By it, supplies could be more easily forwarded to the Ohio.

From Little Meadows to Turtle Creek

By the eighteenth of June, the army had arrived at Little Meadows beyond the dark forest known as the "Shades of Death." There a council of war was held at which it was decided that Braddock with about twelve hundred lightly equipped troops should push forward leaving Colonel Dunbar with the remainder to follow by easy marches. An advance party of four hundred under



Autograph of Sir John Saint Clair

Lieutenant-colonel Sir John Saint Clair moved forward the same day and Braddock followed on the nineteenth. Progress still continued slow and Washington declared that they paused to level every mole-hill and to bridge every brook so that four days were consumed in going twelve miles. The road, too, was beset by outlying parties of the enemy who, because of Braddock's lack of scouts and rangers, were able from behind the safe forest screen to watch every movement and to cut off stragglers.

It was the seventh of July before the expedition reached Turtle Creek about eight miles from Fort Duquesne. 1755

Meanwhile, there was uneasiness in Fort Duquesne. Contrecœur, the French commander, had with him a few Beaujeu's Ambuscade

Map of Braddock's Route

companies of regulars, a few Canadians, and about eight hundred Indians, not far from a thousand in all. The number of the approaching English was variously reported, but always exaggerated. Few of the French officers had hope of successful resistance and there was talk of surrender. On the eighth, however, it was decided that Captain Beaujeu should attempt to ambuscade the approaching enemy. Volunteers were called for and, although the Indians at first held back, a party was at length formed. It consisted of thirty-six officers and

1755 cadets, seventy-two regulars, a hundred and forty-six Canadians, and about six hundred Indian warriors of many different tribes. Captain Dumas was second in command and in the party were Charles Langlade, the destroyer of Pickawillany, Athanase, and perhaps the later-celebrated Pontiac.

Hyacinthe Marie Liénard de Beaujeu

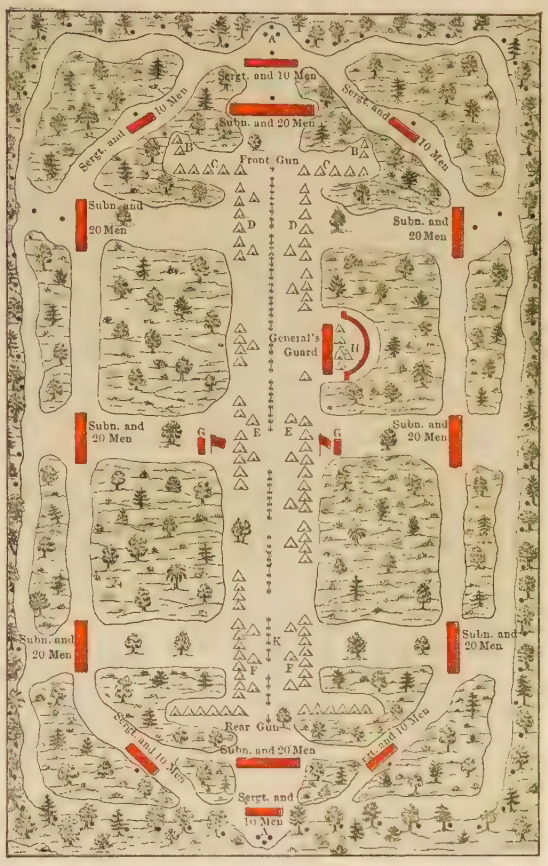
Military Magnificence

The English passed the night of the eighth about two miles from the Monongahela and, early on the morning of the ninth, crossed the river undisturbed and resumed their march. Certain that the enemy's scouts were watching the movement, Braddock had determined to impress them with the efficiency and strength of his force. The troops had been ordered to appear as if for dress parade and every man was attired in his best uniform. The "burnished arms shone bright as silver in the glistening rays of the noonday sun, as, with colors waving proudly above their heads, and amid inspiring bursts of martial music, the steady files, with disciplined precision, and glittering in scarlet and gold, advanced to their position." In later years, Washington was often heard to say, writes Sparks, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on that eventful day. Many who were to become famous in another war were there: Gage, who commanded the British forces in America at the time of Bunker Hill; Gates, victor at Saratoga and vanquished at Camden; Mercer, who fell at Princeton; Morgan, the hero of the Cowpens; and George Washington.

That we may better understand what followed it will be well to ask whence came these Indian allies who were

helping to hold the gateway of the West against the English and what were their fighting methods. The territory that they occupied was from prehistoric times a mighty battlefield, as witness the forts and mausoleums of the mound-builders described in the first volume of this history. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was the favorite hunting-ground of the Iroquois, the dreaded conquerors of half a continent. As the home-land of the Iroquois lay between the growing settlements of the French and the English, both of whom coveted the fur trade that was largely controlled by the Six Nations, the energies of the New World Romans were more and more absorbed in diplomacy and traffic; their western hunting-grounds were guarded less jealously. Into the Eden thus left unoccupied came three pursued and

1755 The Indian Allies of the French



Braddock's Method of Encampment

REFERENCES: A, Vedette of Light Horse; B, Party of Sailors; C, Company of Grenadiers; D, Vanguard; E, Main Body; F, Rear Guard; G, One Company of Light Horse; H, General's Tent; K, Line of Baggage; . The dots by the trees are Sentries.

1755 persecuted nations. Driven from their early home on the Saint Lawrence, the Wyandots had fled to the Huron country where they were known to the early Jesuit missionaries as the Tobacco Nation. When the Iroquois laid waste the Huron country, the Wyandots again and almost hopelessly "moved on" and built their fires on the shores of Sandusky Bay on Lake Erie. Until the passing of New France they were the faithful allies of the French. From the far South came the Shawnees, cheerless wanderers too. These "Bedouins of the American Indians" finally fixed themselves in the Scioto River valley, where, for half a century, they were the allies of the Wyandots and became "the fiercest and most uncompromising nation with which the white man ever dealt." Driven as already told from their loved maize-fields in the valley of the Delaware, the Indian nation of that name had threaded the mountain forests, crossed the Allegheny River and settled down in the

Circa 1740 upper valley of the Muskingum where they lived for half a century. With these were vagrant Iroquois, known generally as Mingoes, and other fragmentary and affiliated tribes. The total number of these redskin occupants of the abandoned hunting-grounds of the Iroquois must have been several thousands, just how many it is impossible to tell.

Indian Fighting

From early youth, these red-skinned warriors had been trained to hunting and war. Wholly undisciplined in the ordinary military sense, they would attack, retreat, rally, or repel a charge at the signal of command, and they were able to fight in open order in thick cover without losing touch of each other—a feat that no European regiment was then able to perform. In the dense forest, the white straggler from the beaten road was helplessly lost, while his Indian antagonist was wholly at his ease. With eyes trained for generations to more than a wild beast's watchfulness, the red men could track a white man as hounds run a fox and yet leave a trail that only a master woodcraftsman could follow. Every tree-trunk was a breastwork and every bush a hiding-place. When

in the forest they found a huddled foe, they flitted from cover to cover unseen and shot down white men as they would elk or other game. In his *The Winning of the West*, Mr. Roosevelt has told us that, under such circumstances, a body of regular soldiers is almost as useless as they would be if at night they had to fight foes who could see in the dark. Attacking when least expected, no one could say whence they came, "and when they had finished their dreadful work they retired into a wilderness that closed over their trail as the waves of the ocean close in the wake of a ship."

1755

Braddock's Battlefield

(Distribution of Troops as they were at the time of the Attack)

REFERENCES: I, French and Indians when discovered by the guides. British Troops: A, Guides with 6 Light Horse; B, Van of the advanced party; C, Advanced party commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Gage; D, Working party commanded by Sir John Saint Clair; E, Two Field Pieces, 6-pounders; F, Guard to Field Pieces; G, Tool Wagons; H, Flank Guard, Main Body of Army; I, Light Horse; K, Sailors; L, Sergeant and 10 Grenadiers; M, Subaltern and 20 Men; N, 12-Pounders; O, Company of Grenadiers; P, Vanguard; Q, Train of Artillery; R, Rear Guard of the whole Army.

Beaujeu's Attack

There was no contest at the second ford as Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Gage recrossed the Monongahela with the advance. The way

1755 now lay over hills and among deep ravines. Suddenly an engineer saw the enemy bounding forward, led by Beaujeu, gaily clad in a fringed hunting dress. Perceiving the English, the Frenchman halted and waved his hat; his followers dispersed to left and right, glided behind rocks and trees or into the ravines, and at once opened a heavy fire upon the English. From behind almost every tree came the crack of a musket and an unearthly yell the like of which the English regulars had never before heard. But Gage's redcoats pluckily held their ground, firing volley after volley. When Beaujeu fell pierced through the forehead by a musket-ball, the Canadians were so dismayed that many of them fled. Then Gage's two cannons opened and the Indians began to flee. But the

Braddock's Battlefield

(Distribution of Troops at about two o'clock, after the attack by the French and Indian Allies)

REFERENCES: A, French and Indians; B, Main body of British Troops; C, Field Pieces abandoned; D, 3 Field Pieces of Main Body; E, Cannon; F, Rear Guard.

French regulars stood firm and Dumas, now in command, rallied his Indian allies. From their posts behind the trees they rapidly picked off the British regulars who, with great noise and fury, continued to fire into the forest at their now unseen enemy. 1755

On Braddock Field

Braddock hastened forward to find his massed regulars sadly demoralized and rapidly falling before the bullets of their hidden foe; the Virginians were firing from the cover of tree-trunks as the enemy did. The general had never seen the Coldstream Guards indulge in such irregular, unmilitary practices. His sensibilities were shocked beyond measure. He would have no "skulking" and promptly ordered the Virginians back into line where no one could find cover. The mass of men became a mob, and the ground on which they stood a veritable slaughter-pen. Braddock was everywhere, striving to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Gates and Gage were wounded, young Shirley had fallen with a bullet in his brain. Braddock had four horses shot under him, and Washington had two. The aide and Sir Peter Halket urged that orders be given for the men to take to the shelter of the trees, but the obstinate commander insisted on adherence to established rules and, in person, helped to drive his men from their "hiding-places."

The Braddock Defeat

At last, when every aide but Washington had been struck down and most of the officers had fallen, Braddock saw the hopelessness of continued sacrifice and gave the signal for retreat. Just then he was shot from his horse and the movement became a disorderly flight. The battle was lost; the rout complete; the ground, left covered with the dead and dying. Braddock was borne from the field and the enemy pursued no further than the river. Of fewer than ninety officers engaged, twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded. Of the soldiers, eight hundred and fourteen were killed and wounded. In no battle of the Revolution was there such general slaughter. On the other side, the loss was insignificant; officers, three killed and four wounded; soldiers and Indians, about thirty killed and a few more

1755 wounded. The Indians, their murderous instincts unrestrained, killed the wounded, scalped and mutilated the dead, and burned some of their prisoners. Within a day or two, most of them set out for their distant homes booty-laden.

Braddock's Death

The fugitive English met the still advancing Dunbar and his reserves, but the flight was not checked thereby. On the contrary, it became epidemic and the surviving half of the army surged back in wild disorder. After the incredible toil with which they had been drawn over mountain and morass, a hundred and fifty wagons were needlessly destroyed and fifty thousand pounds of powder thrown into the water. It is not certain that this destruction was by Braddock's orders intelligently given, but it has been said that, in any case, such orders were not fit for an English officer to give or to obey. On the retreat Braddock was silent excepting when it was necessary to issue orders. Once, in words scarcely audible, he murmured: "Who would have thought it!" The next day, he turned to Captain Orme, his aide, who also was wounded, and said: "We shall better know how to deal with them another time," and died a few minutes after.

Sunday, July 13

He was buried in the road in order that the passing army might obliterate all traces of his grave. Nearly threescore and ten years later, workmen engaged in repairing the old road came upon his remains, recognizable by the insignia of rank that surrounded them. Some of the bones were carried away by vandals, but the others were reinterred under a large oak-tree which stood upon a little hill not far away, close beside the National Road and about a mile from old Fort Necessity. The grave is still pointed out to the passer-by. In the baggage left on the field was the general's cabinet in which the French found Braddock's letters and instructions. These were used by the French ministry in printed memorials and manifestoes to throw the responsibility of the breach of the peace on England. One of Washington's journals also fell into the hands of the enemy. It was translated into French and

printed in Paris in 1756, and re-Englished and printed in London in 1757. 1755

And so the disorganized elements of what had been an army drifted back to Fort Cumberland with Colonel Dunbar of the British regulars in nominal command. Thence Dunbar retreated to Philadelphia, leaving the Virginians to protect the fort and its hospitals as best they could. Then fell upon the unprotected frontier a barbarian horde, often led by equally merciless French. Settlers were shot down, children were scalped alive, women and girls were ravished and then either tomahawked or burned or dragged away to be the squaws of their copper-colored captors. The families that were fortunate enough to escape fled to more settled regions, and the Blue Ridge again became the Virginia frontier. Fort Cumberland was left in the enemy's country and Winchester became an endangered outpost. With the rank of colonel, Washington was given command of an inadequate force of volunteers that was to guard three hundred and fifty miles of open border. By October, the young commander was at Winchester, facing the desperate situation. The Virginia militia, terror-stricken and undisciplined, needed to be trained in the art of war. "No orders are obeyed," Washington wrote to Dinwiddie, "but such as a party of soldiers or my own drawn sword enforces." Threats were made "to blow out the brains" of all in authority who antagonized them, and at secret meetings men spoke of making terms with the French and Indians by renouncing all claims to the West.

An Exposed Frontier

August 14

Under an order issued in November, 1754, every officer who held a royal commission claimed to outrank him. The winter season had brought a few months' respite from Indian atrocities and, in February, 1756, Washington went in person to Boston to appeal to Shirley who, after Braddock's death, held the chief command of the king's forces in America. Shirley upheld the authority of the Virginia colonel and Washington returned to meet as best he could the difficulties that confronted him. He supervised the building of a line of forts to defend

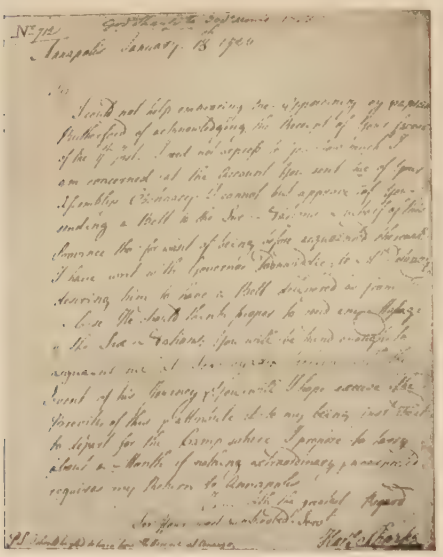
Washington at School

March 5, 1756

1755 the country, begged patiently and impatiently for guns, ammunition, blankets, shoes, and shirts for his "tatterdemalion army," relieved the distress and quieted the fears of hungry and frantic women, led his undisciplined militia against lurking Indians, and well learned the splendid lessons that in later years he taught to others.

On the Pennsylvania Frontier

Further north, along the Pennsylvania frontier, conditions were even worse. The Delawares had not forgotten or forgiven and the Shawnees were not slow to scale the mountains. Conrad Weiser reported that fifteen hundred savages and their not less devilish French allies were devastating the valleys along the Juniata and the west branches of the Susquehanna. William Johnson did what he could, which was little enough, to induce the Iroquois to exercise their authority over the Allegheny tribes and to check the raids of the latter upon the white settlers of the Pennsylvania frontier. It was easy for these hunters and backwoods farmers to believe that England had deserted them and was "willing to wait for the rains to wet the powder, and rats to eat the bow-strings of the enemy, rather than attempt to drive them from her frontiers."



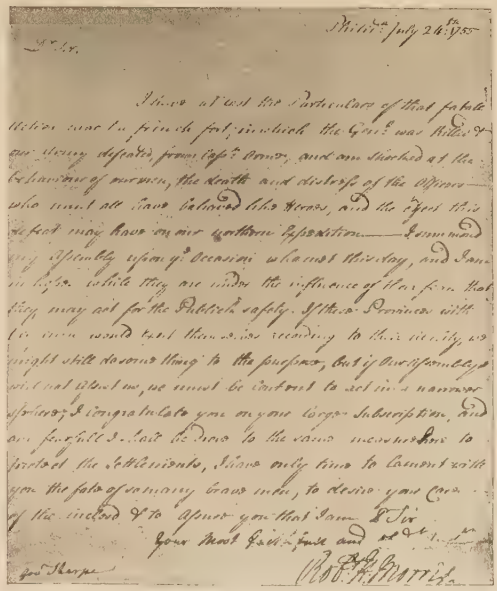
Horatio Sharpe's Letter to Governor Morris

An Inefficient Assembly

The aversion of the Quaker governing class to war, and quarrels between the assembly and the governor and proprietors made the protection of the Pennsylvania frontier more difficult than it otherwise would have been. These differences related to the control of the revenues, the enlistment of servants without the consent of their

masters, the emission of paper money, the tenure of office, and the right to tax proprietary estates. In its efforts to triumph over the proprietors, the assembly tied up every money grant for the public service with conditions that, under his instructions, the governor could not accept. Petition after petition from the suffering settlers on the border went unheeded and, at last, a band of frontiersmen arrived in Philadelphia bringing a wagon loaded with the mutilated bodies of their slaughtered friends and relatives and displayed these grewsome relics before the very doors of the assembly.

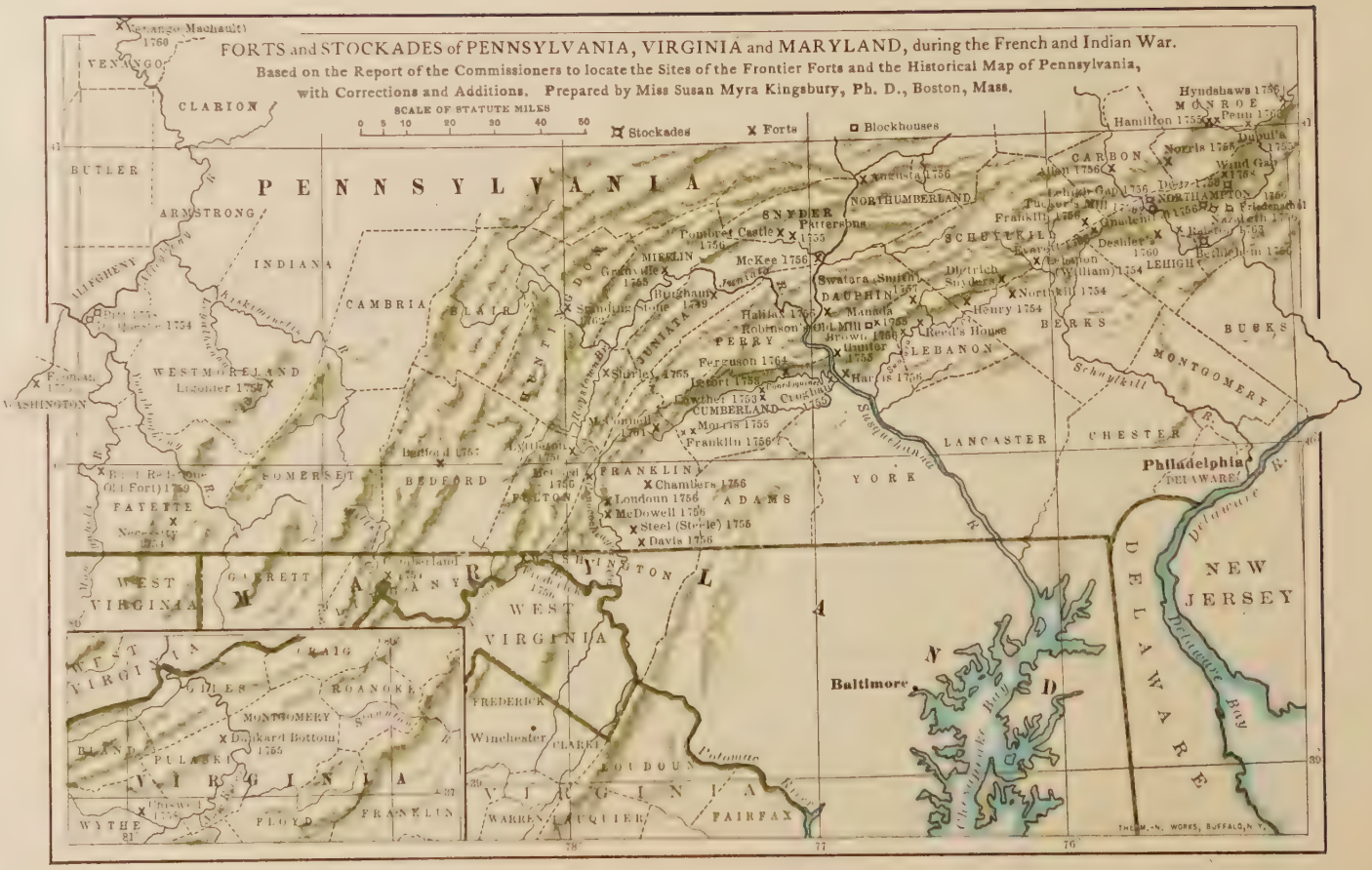
1755



Robert Hunter Morris's Letter to Governor Sharpe

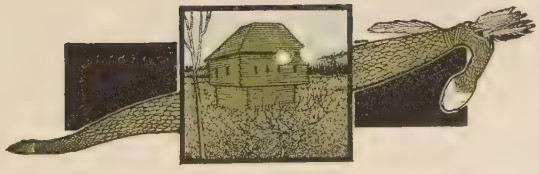
Seeing that it must give way, the assembly seized upon the offer of the proprietors to give five thousand pounds for the public defense as a pretext for retreat and granted fifty-five thousand more. Franklin was one of the commissioners charged with the expenditure and, when the governor asked him to take charge of the northwestern border, accepted the appointment. As in Virginia, a chain of forts was built for the protection of the frontier. The chain was stretched along the Blue Mountain barrier from the Delaware to the Potomac and garrisoned with provincial troops nearly all of whom were detailed from the command of Lieutenant-colonel Conrad Weiser. The way having thus been cleared, the Pennsylvania assembly made liberal appropriations, granting in the next

The Frontier Forts


FORTS and STOCKADES of PENNSYLVANIA, VIRGINIA and MARYLAND, during the French and Indian War.
Based on the Report of the Commissioners to locate the Sites of the Frontier Forts and the Historical Map of Pennsylvania,
with Corrections and Additions. Prepared by Miss Susan Myra Kingsbury, Ph. D., Boston, Mass.
SCALE OF STATUTE MILES
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
Stockades
Forts
Blockhouses
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
NEW JERSEY
Baltimore
Philadelphia
Hyndshaws 1756
Hamilton 1755
Penn 1755
Norris 1755
Dupuy's 1755
Wind Gap 1756
NORTHAMPTON 1756
Friedens 1756
Nazareth 1756
Bethlehem 1756
LEHIGH
CARBON
Allen 1756
Lehigh Gap 1756
Tuscarora Mill 1756
Franklin 1756
Gnadenhut 1756
Desher's 1760
Evans's 1760
Barton (William) 1754
Depuy's 1754
Northkill 1754
Henry 1754
BERKS
BUCKS
MONTGOMERY
CHESTER
LANCASTER
YORK
ADAMS
FRANKLIN
CUMBERLAND
PERRY
DAUPHIN
LEBANON
SCHUYLKILL
NORTHUMBERLAND
SNYDER
Pattersons
Fort Augusta 1756
Penn's Creek 1755
Pomfret Castle 1756
McKee 1756
Granville 1755
Shaubine Stone 1749
Halifax 1756
Manada
Old Mill 1755
Brown 1756
Reed's House
Hunter 1755
Harris 1756
Robinson
Ferguson 1764
Isbert 1755
Sherman's Valley 1755
Lowther 1755
Morris 1755
Franklin 1756
Chambers 1756
Loudoun 1756
McDowell 1756
Steel (Steele) 1755
Davis 1756
Swatara Smith
Dietrich Snyder
Shamokin (Sunbury) 1756
Juniata
Susquehanna R.
Schuylkill R.
Delaware R.
Delaware Bay
Chesapeake Bay
Potomac R.
Monongahela R.
Youghiogheny R.
Kiskiminetas R.
Conemaugh R.
Allegheny R.
Ohio R.
Beaver R.
Shenango R.
Mahoning R.
Big Beaver Creek
Conococheague Creek
Cumberland
Hancock
Bedford 1755
Fort Bedford 1759
Ligonier 1758
Loyalhanna
Fort Ligonier 1758
Fort Pitt 1759
Fort Necessity
Washington
Westmoreland
Somerset
Bedford
Fayette
Indiana
Cambria
Blair
Armstrong
Butler
Clarion
Venango
Venango Machault) 1760
Allegheny
Beaver
Lawrence
Mercer
Gilbert
Craig
Giles
Roanoke
Montgomery
Dunkard Bottom 1755
Pulaski
Bland
Wythe
Floyd
Franklin
Frederick
Winchester
Clarke
Loudoun
Warren
Fauquier
Fairfax
Prince William
Alexandria
Arlington
Kent
Queen Anne's
Talbot
Caroline
Dorchester
Somerset
Wicomico
Worcester
Sussex
Kent
New Castle
Cecil
Harford
Baltimore
Anne Arundel
Prince George's
Charles
St. Mary's
Calvert
Frederick
Carroll
Howard
Montgomery
Washington
Allegany
Garrett
THE M. N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.

decade nearly six hundred thousand pounds for military purposes. 1755

Thus the Braddock expedition of which much had been expected brought its burden of bitter disappointment to Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic. But it made manifest the fact that the mettle of English colonists was as good as that of English regulars, that on their own ground their fighting methods were superior, and that the "red-coats" were not invincible. Franklin wrote that "this whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regulars had not been well founded." At the Monongahela, "Morgan and Mercer, Gates and Washington, first stood side by side, and in that day's dark torrent of blood was tempered the steel which was to sever the colonies from the parent stem." The Lesson of it All



CHAPTER IV

THE QUADRILATERAL CAMPAIGN OF 1755—CROWN POINT AND NIAGARA

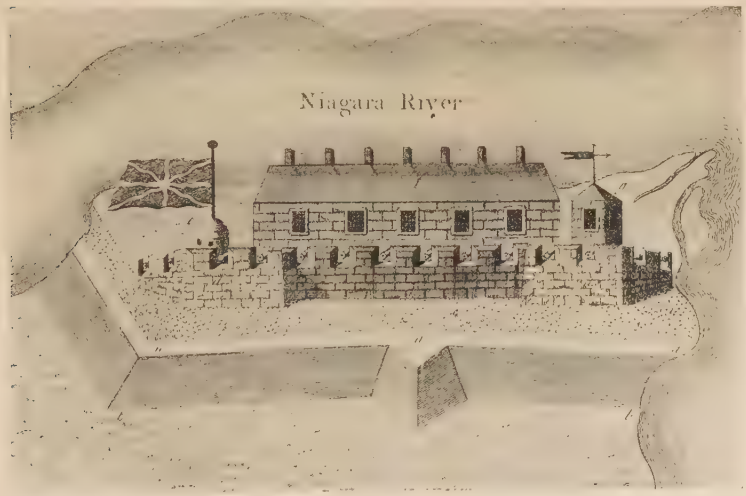
1755
William Johnson in Command

THE expedition against Crown Point, which formed a part of the program adopted by the Alexandria conference in April, had been proposed by Shirley to the ministry in January and to the Massachusetts assembly in February. The assembly approved the project and voted money for the pay and maintenance of twelve hundred men on condition that the adjacent colonies would contribute fairly to the same end. Connecticut voted twelve hundred men, New Hampshire five hundred, and Rhode Island four hundred; New York promised eight hundred more; and later in the year some of the colonies added to their quotas. Shirley appointed William Johnson of

New York to command the proposed expedition, thus gratifying that province and the Iroquois and avoiding the jealousy that the smaller New England colonies would have felt had he named a Massachusetts officer. After the approval of the plan by the Alexandria conference, Shirley and the governors of the other provinces that were to take part separately commissioned Johnson as major-general. As Parkman remarks, "never did general take the field with authority so heterogeneous." The new commander "could hold his own in a grave council of colonial governors, or, if need be, could drink and shout and paint his face and dance the war-dance with the wildest of Mohawk warriors," but he never had seen active service and knew nothing of war. 1755

Shirley and Johnson at Albany

The third feature of the quadrilateral campaign agreed upon at Alexandria was the expedition that Governor



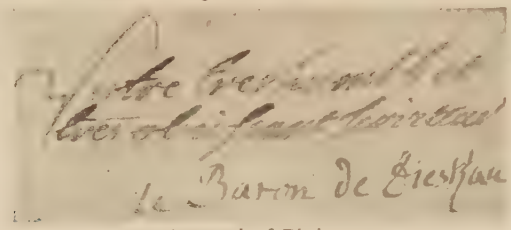
View of Fort Niagara

Shirley was to lead against Niagara. In July, the forces for both expeditions, about six thousand ill-disciplined provincials and impatient Indians, were rendezvoused at Albany. Troops came in tardily, everything moved slowly, and a Massachusetts officer wrote to his wife that "the expedition goes on very much as a snail runs,"

1755 while another complained that the rum "won't hold out nine weeks. Things appear most melancholy to me." Before either general left Albany, sad news came from the Monongahela. The loss of his son was a great bereavement for Shirley and the promotion that Braddock's death made probable was poor consolation.

Vaudreuil and Dieskau

Meanwhile, Dieskau and Vaudreuil and as much of the French expedition as had escaped Boscawen's English fleet had arrived in Canada. Preparations were made to reinforce Fort Frontenac and to attack Oswego, for the French well understood that this English trading-post on Lake Ontario was a constant menace to their line of communication between Canada and the Ohio valley. After many of the troops had been sent forward, the papers captured from Braddock and the reports brought in by scouts apprised the French of Johnson's expedition against Crown Point near which, in the administration of Beauharnois, the French had built Fort Saint Frederick. The French plan was accordingly changed and, in August, Dieskau was sent from Montreal with three thousand men, more or less, to meet Johnson. Dieskau had no doubt that he would easily rout the raw provincials against whom he was advancing and chase them back to Albany; his only fear was that the English would beat a retreat on hearing that he was upon the march. One of the orders issued by him was to the effect that his Indian allies should not "amuse themselves scalping until the enemy be entirely defeated, inasmuch as ten

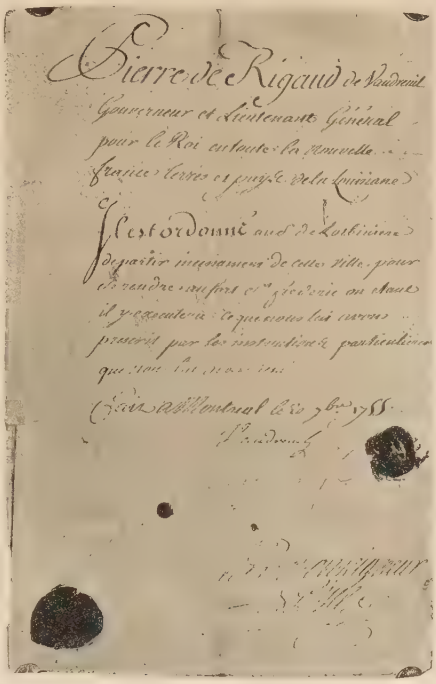


Autograph of Dieskau

Fort Saint Frederick

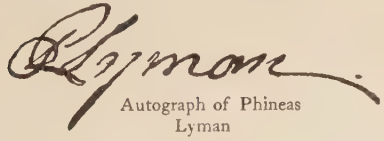
men can be killed while one is being scalped." Vaudreuil and he hoped to dispose of Johnson in season to be able to execute their original design against Oswego. 1755

Early in July, before Dieskau began his counter-movement, General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut, next in command under Johnson, was sent forward and, at the beginning of the portage between the Hudson and Lake Saint Sacrement, built a fortified storehouse that his men called Fort Lyman. In August, Johnson set out from Albany with the equipments without which Lyman had gone ahead. Leaving Colonel Blanchard of New Hampshire with five hundred men at Fort Lyman, the raw major-general set out with about two thousand men for the lake. With him were Israel Putnam, then a private in the Connecticut forces, Lieutenant John Stark of New Hampshire, Colonel Ephraim Williams who bequeathed the greater part of his property to found the free school in Massachusetts that grew into Williams College, Colonel Moses Titcomb and Lieutenant-colonel Seth Pomeroy, both Massachusetts men and veterans of the Louisburg campaign.



Good Material

An Order Signed by Vaudreuil



Autograph of Phineas Lyman

After a toilsome two days' march over the twelve or four-

1755 At Lake George

teen mile portage, the army made its camp on the shore of the most picturesque lake in America — the Saint Sacrement of the French, the Horicon of J. Fenimore Cooper, and now renamed Lake George by Johnson in honor of the king. In front was the forest, on the right a marsh, and on the left a hill. The forest in front would give excellent cover to an enemy, but Johnson seemed not to care to cut it away; Dieskau was known to be marching on Crown Point, but the English major-general took little pains to learn just where he was or just what he was doing. He proposed to wait for his boats, to build a fort, and then to proceed to Ticonderoga and to make that strong position his base of operations against Crown Point, fifteen miles beyond. The promised Iroquois were slowly coming in and now numbered about two hundred and fifty or three hundred warriors.

General Stark Monument

Dieskau's Advance

Meanwhile, Dieskau had arrived at Crown Point whence, on the second of September, he advanced with most of his army to Ticonderoga. Anxious to emulate the French success at Fort Duquesne and misled by a prisoner into believing that the main English army had fallen back to Albany, he resolved to attack Fort Lyman. Leaving a large part of his army at Ticonderoga, he

September 4

embarked a picked force of about six hundred Indians commanded by Legardeur de Saint Pierre who had received Washington at Fort Le Bœuf, six hundred and eighty Canadians, and two hundred and twenty regulars and, in canoes, advanced up the long, narrow southern

September 5

arm of Lake Champlain to the head of South Bay where they landed. On the sixth of September, they began their march through the wilderness toward Fort Lyman. On the evening of the seventh, Johnson learned of the

movements of the enemy and sent warning to Colonel Blanchard at the threatened fort. The messenger was shot by Dieskau's Indians; from the letter that he carried and from two prisoners taken shortly afterward, the French discovered that the main English army was still encamped at Lake George. The Indians then refused to attack the fort which they believed was defended by dreaded cannons. Dieskau's remonstrances were in vain; the best that his allies would do was to attack the camp at the head of the lake. Although Johnson's force was reported greatly to outnumber his own, Dieskau accepted the new scheme, told his men that the more English there were the more they should kill, and, on the morning of the eighth, led his men into the road that Johnson's army had made and marched them toward Lake George.

1755

Map of Country around Lake Champlain

Ephraim Williams

Some hours after sending off the unfortunate messenger to Fort Lyman, Johnson received more definite information concerning the enemy and, in the morning, called a council of war. It was at first decided to send two separate detachments of five hundred men each, one toward South Bay and the other toward the fort, "to catch the enemy in their retreat," but Hendrick, the Mohawk chieftain, opposed

1755 this plan so forcibly that the two detachments were united under the command of Colonel Williams and despatched along the road toward the fort. Hendrick still shook his head, saying that if the troops were to be killed they were too many and if they were to fight they were too few. Nevertheless, he resolved to accompany the expedition and, being too old and too fat to walk, mounted a horse lent him by Johnson; he was followed by about two hundred warriors.

"The Brave Old Hendrick"

The Bloody Morning Scout

When Dieskau was about three miles from Lake George, he heard that the English were advancing and quickly prepared an ambush. Without scouts in front or on either flank, Williams the colonial rivalled Braddock the regular and unsuspectingly marched into the horseshoe-shaped trap that Dieskau had set. Hendrick's quick eye soon detected signs of the enemy, but just then a fatal fire was opened from the thickets on the left. The entrapped soldiers fell by scores, Hendrick was killed with a bayonet, and Williams was shot through the brain. In Dieskau's own words, "the column was crumpled up like a pack of cards." When the men in the rear hastened to the support of those in front, a hot fire was opened on

Boulder Marking the Grave of Ephraim Williams

September 8

them from the forest on the right and there was a moment of panic and confusion. But Lieutenant-colonel Nathan Whiting of Connecticut rallied a part of Williams's regiment and, in gallant style, covered the retreat toward Lake George. Fighting behind trees like Indians, now 1755

Clement's Survey of Crown Point, Fort Edward, etc.

firing and now falling back, they were met by reinforcements that Johnson sent to their aid. Legardeur de Saint Pierre had been killed, the Indian allies of the French were sullen, the Canadians were wavering, and Dieskau was compelled to call a halt. The affair was long known in New England as "the bloody morning scout."

The English Barricade

In the camp, Johnson and his soldiers heard the distant rattle of the musketry; as it grew louder and louder, they knew that their companions were retreating. Thus warned, they hastily built a barricade of wagons, tree-trunks, and upturned boats, planted a few cannons to sweep the road, and dragged another to the crest of the hill. Down the road came the remnants of the detachment, the scared fugitives in the lead, then more orderly

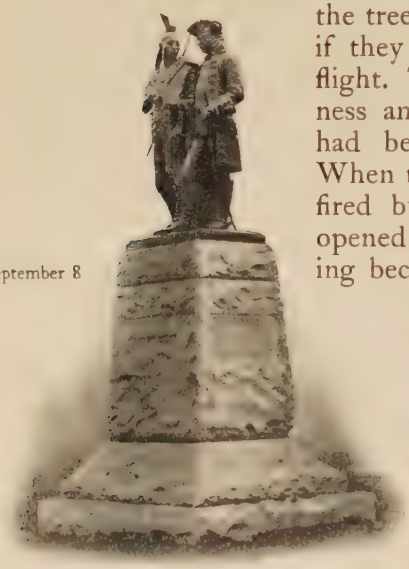
September 8

1755 bodies of men bringing in the wounded, and then Whiting and the main detachment in the rear. Had Dieskau been able to press on at once, he might have captured the camp with little opposition. But the moments that he had to spend in gathering his stragglers and forming his lines were the needed breathing-time for the English. Men were detailed to guard the flanks of the camp; the others took their places behind the barricade and waited for the enemy.

Dieskau's Defeat

Half an hour before noon, Dieskau's white-coated regulars marched down the road to begin the attack, their bayonets glittering ominously amid the trees and bushes. As they advanced in good order, the woods seemed full of Canadians and Indians, firing from behind the trees and yelling in terrific fashion as if they hoped thus to put their foe to flight. The spectacle caused much uneasiness among the English, few of whom had been under fire before that day. When the French regulars deployed and fired by platoons, the English artillery opened on them with grape and the fighting became general and furious on both sides. Johnson was wounded and carried to his tent and Lyman took command. The French attacked persistently, but the provincials who, as Dieskau later said, had fought in the morning "like good boys" and at noon "like men," were now fighting "like devils;" their cannons did good execution; the brave Lyman was in every dangerous position; and by four o'clock the enemy's fire had slackened. Then the English farmers and farmers' boys, their blood thoroughly up, crossed their barricade and rushed forward with a shout. The Canadians and their Indian allies were scattered; the French regulars waited for a contest at

September 8



Monument Commemorating the Battle at Lake George

Blodget's Plan of the Battle of Lake George

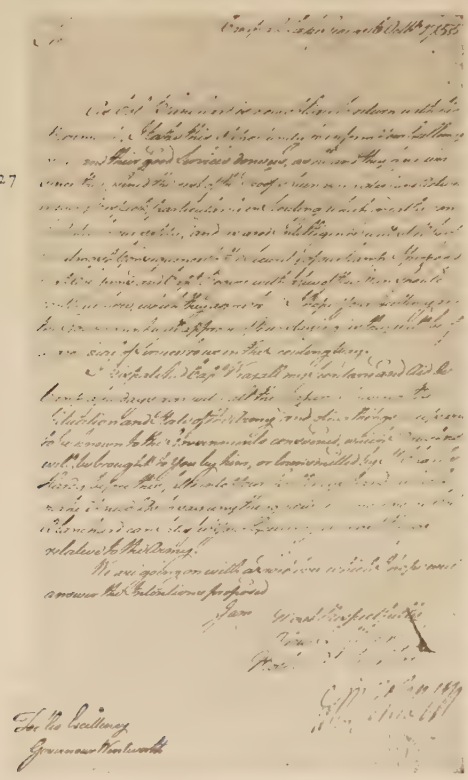
close quarters and many of them were literally pounded to death. The French were beaten and their defeat was converted into a rout. Dieskau, three times wounded, was found sitting helplessly against a tree from which he had refused to be moved and was shot a fourth time by the soldier who discovered him. He was then taken to Johnson's tent where he was generously cared for; later he was sent to England and thence to France where he died in 1767. 1755

The English army did not follow up the advantage it had gained. The French fugitives gathered in the forest, encamped there, and, late on the following day, spent with hunger and fatigue, regained their canoes at South Bay. They might perhaps have been intercepted and the entire expedition captured, and possibly Ticonderoga might have been seized as Lyman urged, but Johnson was apprehensive of a new attack. As it was, the French returned to Ticonderoga and there intrenched themselves so strongly that a successful attack was impossible. Johnson lingered where he was, built a fort that, in honor of one of the king's grandsons, he called William Henry, and Sir William Johnson

Map of the Country Between Crown Point and Fort Edward

1755 changed the name of Fort Lyman to Fort Edward in honor of another. Shirley wrote from Oswego urging an advance, but, about the middle of October, a council of war decided that an advance was not advisable. Johnson marched the main part of his half-frozen and semi-mutinous army back to Albany and went into winter quarters. The men soon dispersed to their homes. In his official report Johnson failed to mention Lyman's part in the victory and took all the credit for himself, thus paving the way for a parliamentary grant of five thousand pounds and a new appellation, Sir William Johnson, baronet.

November 27



Letter by William Johnson

The Hero and the Laurel

The expedition thus ended may be looked upon as a failure or as a success, according to the point of view. Coming two months after Braddock's dispiriting defeat, the English saw in the repulse of the French an escape from an imminent peril, and the colonies rang with rejoicings. With his gifts from parliament and king, Johnson won a temporary glory, a "mighty renown which echoed through the colonies, reverberated to Europe, and elevated a raw, inexperienced youth into a kind of second Marlborough." On the other hand, the purpose of the expedition was to capture the fortress that commanded

Lake Champlain and the road to Canada; all that was actually accomplished was the repulse of a French force that had invaded British territory. The enduring laurel was secured by Lyman and a raw militia that never before had been under fire. 1755

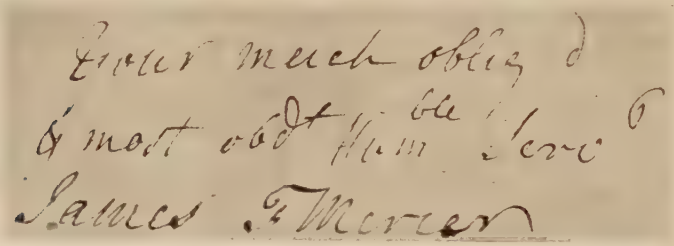
Shirley's Advance to Oswego

While Johnson was making his slow way toward Lake George, Shirley was pushing through the swamps and forests toward Oswego, following the Mohawk River and Lake Oneida route, and aiming at the French fort at Niagara. The capture of Niagara would have cut the communications between Canada and the French forts and settlements in the West and left them to perish like the limbs of a girdled tree. It had been Braddock's plan to capture Fort Duquesne and then to push on to join Shirley, but Shirley already knew that Braddock would not come. As the army wormed its way tediously along, oar and ax and spade were in almost constant use and the hardships of the way told heavily on the men. The transportation of supplies was especially difficult, the news received from Braddock's field was disheartening, the wagoners abandoned much of the stores at the portages, many of the bateau-men and some of the troops deserted. Thus weakened, Shirley arrived at Oswego in the third week of August, with the regiment known as the Jersey Blues and two others called respectively Shirley's and Pepperrell's. Although these were royal troops, paid by the king and clad in scarlet, real "redcoats," they were in fact newly recruited colonials — raw provincials.

Shirley's Return from Oswego

A month was spent in getting ready for the attack on Niagara. On the eighteenth of September, a council of war was held at which Shirley announced that, as soon as sufficient provisions arrived, he would advance by the lake with six hundred men, sixty or seventy Indians, and sufficient artillery, leaving the rest of his force to guard Oswego against attack from the French at Fort Frontenac (Kingston). But the troops were mutinous, provisions continued scarce, and across the lake, at Fort

1755 Frontenac, were Frenchmen who knew all the English plans. If Shirley should advance from Oswego toward Niagara, the enemy would advance from Fort Frontenac to Oswego. On the twenty-seventh, at another council, it was decided that it would be unwise to trust the river boats upon the lake in the stormy season then at hand, and the campaign was abandoned for that year. Toward the end of October, Shirley left Lieutenant-colonel



Autograph of James F. Mercer

James F. Mercer, of Pepperrell's regiment, with seven hundred men at Oswego and returned with the rest of his army to Albany, where he received his new commission. In a few weeks, Mercer's garrison numbered only three hundred and thirty men and, before spring, only one hundred and forty were fit for duty.

CHAPTER V

THE QUADRILATERAL CAMPAIGN OF 1755—THE REMOVAL OF THE ACADIANS

Colonizing Nova Scotia

IN 1745, Louisburg had been taken by English colonials under Pepperrell as related in the third volume of this work. In 1748, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored the town and island to France. As provided by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain still held Nova Scotia with its ill-defined boundaries and a people that by race and religion were bound to New France rather than to New England. Realizing the menace of French power at Louisburg and with

March 31 = April 11, 1713

Short's View of Halifax, 1764

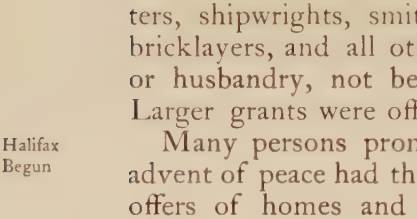
a view to strengthening its hold on Nova Scotia, the English government advertised in the *London Gazette*

March, 1749

1749 "that proper encouragement will be given to such of the officers and private men, lately dismissed his Majesty's land and sea service, as are willing to accept of grants of land, and to settle with or without families in Nova Scotia." Similar inducements were offered to "carpenters, shipwrights, smiths, masons, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, and all other artificers necessary in building or husbandry, not being private soldiers or seamen." Larger grants were offered to military and naval officers.

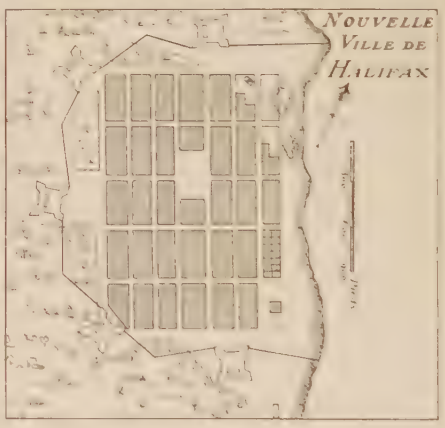
Halifax Begun

Many persons promptly accepted these offers. The advent of peace had thrown men out of employment, and offers of homes and lands in the New World were attractive. In the following May, Edward Cornwallis, uncle of the Yorktown Cornwallis and then a member of parliament, was appointed governor and captain-general. He at once set out for Nova Scotia with some of the new settlers. By the twenty-first of June, they were in



Autograph of Edward Cornwallis

Plan of Fort Halifax



Plan of the Town of Halifax

the magnificent harbor of Chebucto, the shores of which were wooded to the water's edge. Early in July, other immigrants arrived, soldiers and sailors, mechanics, tradesmen, farmers and laborers, women and children, about twenty-five hundred in all. The town of Halifax was quickly laid out and, by the

end of October, three hundred houses had been finished. 1710
In 1752, Halifax had a population of more than four 1755
thousand. The governor and council assumed legislative authority; a provincial assembly was not held until October, 1758. "Alone of all the British colonies on the continent, this new settlement was the offspring, not of private enterprise, but of royal authority."

Truth versus Poetry

The province continued, however, a source of danger to the other English colonies. The causes of this lay chiefly in the character of the population and in the influences that were brought to bear upon them. In spite of the immigration just described, the mass of the people were of French blood and still spoke the French language. To them, Nova Scotia was still Acadie. But Acadia was not Arcadia and its French peasants were not the ideal creations of pastoral poets. There were doubtless many worthy maids and matrons but we have no proof that there were many "Evangelines."

Priest and Peasant

Freedom of religion had been guaranteed by the treaty of Utrecht; almost without exception the Acadians remained adherents of the church of Rome. France was Catholic; England was Protestant. France had never been reconciled to the loss of the peninsula and was resolved to win it back by force or by diplomacy. The Acadian priests were subordinate to the bishop of Quebec, a French ecclesiastic. Many of them became the active agents of France in keeping the peasants from taking the oath of allegiance to King George, in encouraging them to seek new homes on French soil, in teaching them that they were still French subjects, and in stirring them up to revolt against English authority.

Acadian Allegiance

The five articles of the capitulation of Port Royal to General Nicholson in 1710 declared that "the inhabitants within a cannon-shot of Port Royal should remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, during two years, in case they should not be desirous to go before — they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to her sacred Majesty of Great Britain." Nicholson fixed the range of the cannon-shot at a line three English

1713–1755

miles around the fort. A few days after the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, Queen Anne extended the right to all the inhabitants of Acadia and removed the two years' limitation. This she did in token of her appreciation of the compliance of "our good brother, the most christian King" of France, in releasing "from imprisonment on board his galleys such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion." But the Acadians were not willing to take an unreserved oath of allegiance to the British crown. The Nova Scotia archives show that for the next twoscore years, the refusal of the people was persistent and their threats to migrate from the province were oft-repeated.

June 23, 1713

The Needle Under the Glove

In June, 1727, Lieutenant-governor Armstrong wrote to the deputies from Minas, "up the Bay to be published to ye other Inhabitants," "to shew you that it is not only Your Duty and Interest to pay that due Obedience to His Majesty, who for so many Years hath been so Graciously Pleas'd to grant you the Enjoyment not Only of your Estates but Religion, and even upon so Easy Termes, after so long a Disobedience, to Pardon all, and Confirme the same unto you: But also to Signify to you All, that I am so farr from doing You any Prejudice, that I hereby in His Majesty's Name, Invite you Seriously to Consider not only your present but future Happiness; and Desire that you the Deputees of the people and others the Principal Masters of Familys Amongst You, with Monsr. Gaulin Your Missionary Priest, may come here as Soon as possible, with full Power from the Other Inhabitants, that I may fully Discourse & Reason with You on this Subject before the Council, Before I Represent any part of your Behaviour to His Majesty. This I friendly Advise You to, That in Case You do not Comply, You may have none to Blame but yourselves for what may be the Consequence of so much Disrespect and Disobedience to so Great & Gracious a Sovereign."

The Hand Grows Heavy

At a meeting held a few weeks later, having "taken into consideration the insolent behaviour of the inhabit-

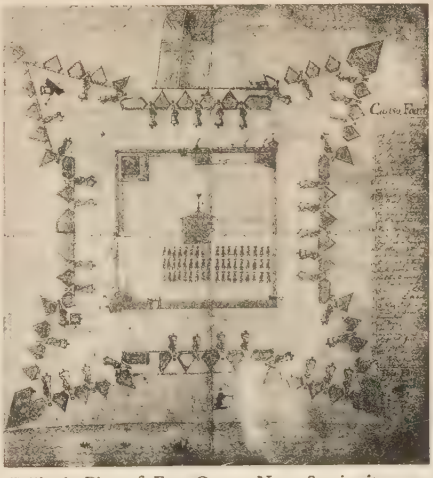
ants as aforesaid and their refusing the Oaths to His Most Sacred Majesty and declaring they will always be faithful to their good King of France as per their declaration upon file," the council "Resolved that until the inhabitants aforesaid submit themselves and take the Oath of fidelity to His Majesty, conform to the Laws of Great Britain, no vessel shall be permitted to trade with them, until His Majesty's pleasure therein shall be known." About the middle of September, three deputies presented an answer to the lieutenant-governor's order to assemble the inhabitants at the fort to take the oath. The council resolved that "the said paper is insolent rebellious and highly disrespectful to His Majesty's authority and Government," and that "His Honor would therefore please to tender the Oaths to the Inhabitants, and in case of refusal to commit the ring leaders to prison." Three of the "ring leaders" who again refused the oath were remanded to prison and laid in irons, another was permitted to retire from the province "leaving his effects behind him," and the other inhabitants were to be "debarred from fishing upon the British Coasts till His Majesty's further pleasure shall be known."

1727 1755

July 25, 1727

Thus the records run year after year, the oath being refused and the council, every now and then, trying to secure compliance with their orders. In September, 1753, the inhabitants of Grand Pré and vicinity presented to Governor Hopson a petition that their missionaries be exempted from the oath of allegiance, and two Frenchmen, on behalf of fourscore French inhabitants who had

Acadian Demands



Folling's Plan of Fort Canso, Nova Scotia, in 1745

1753 deserted their lands at Chignecto, presented a form of
1755 oath of fidelity that they were willing to sign and accompanied it with a demand that they be exempt from taking up arms against any one, "that we shall have the full and entire enjoyment of our religion, and as many priests, catholic, apostolic, and roman as shall be thought necessary, without any oath of allegiance being required of them;" and that "the lands occupied by the English shall be restored to those to whom they formerly belonged." They claimed that such concessions had been made to them in 1727 and repudiated by Governor Cornwallis on the pretext that the English representative "had no authority from the court of England for the oath which he granted us." In the following December, Governor Lawrence reported to the lords of trade that "the french Emissaries still continue to perplex these Inhabitants with difficulties about their taking the Oath of Allegiance. . . . I should think it would be of great advantage, both to them and us, that this matter was, one way or other, cleared up to them as soon as possible."

Seal of the Province of Nova Scotia

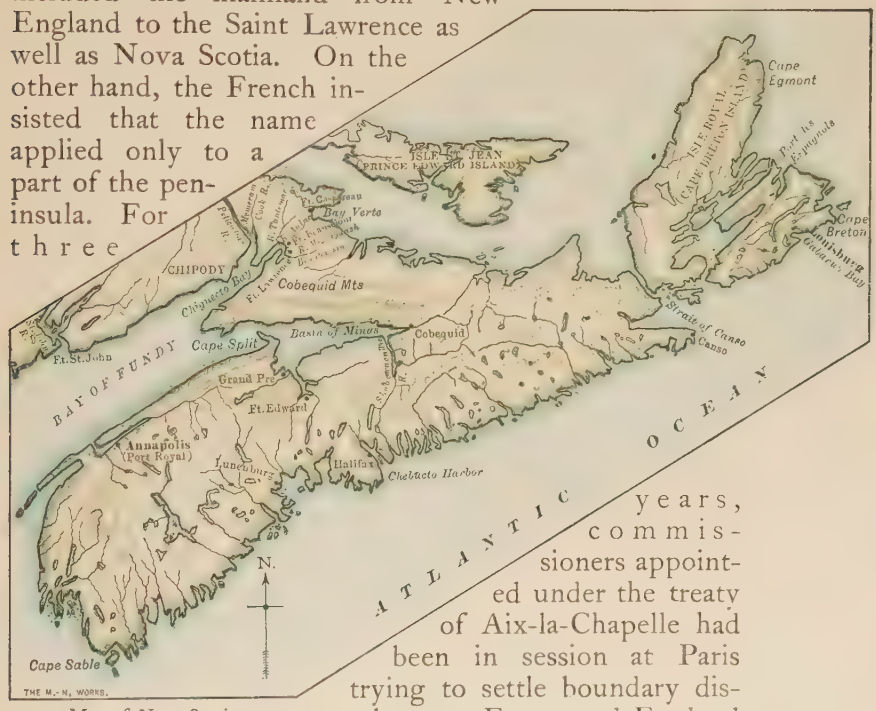
Foremost among these "french Emissaries" was Louis Joseph Le Loutre, vicar-general of Acadia and missionary to the Indians. Parkman describes him as a man of boundless egotism with an intense hatred of the English and a fanaticism that stopped at nothing. The Acadians were extremely susceptible to the influence of their priests; to them Le Loutre was a despot, before him they trembled. He stirred up the Indians of his flock to murder the English settlers in time of peace and, with money furnished by the French government, paid them for the scalps they took. A French Catholic contemporary says that "nobody was more fit than he to carry discord and desolation into a country" and Governor Cornwallis offered a hundred pounds for the head

Le Loutre

of the "good-for-nothing scoundrel." He was, without doubt, "the most conspicuous person in the province, and more than any other man was answerable for the miseries that overwhelmed it." 1755

Boundary Complications

The Acadian situation was further complicated by a dispute concerning boundaries. By the treaty of Utrecht, Acadia, "according to its ancient limits," became English territory. The English now claimed that this Acadia included the mainland from New England to the Saint Lawrence as well as Nova Scotia. On the other hand, the French insisted that the name applied only to a part of the peninsula. For three years, commissioners appointed under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been in session at Paris trying to settle boundary disputes between France and England in America. Out of this tedious discussion no settlement had come; means more strenuous than negotiation were necessary.

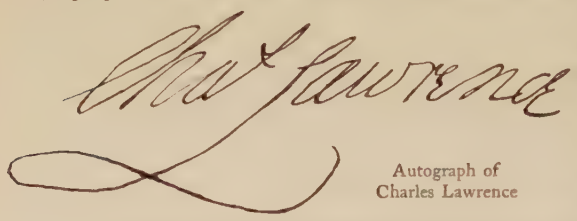


Map of Nova Scotia

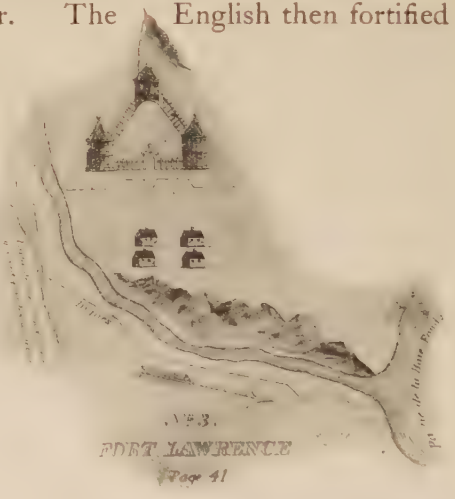
Fort Beausejour

Before the commission entered upon its labors at Paris, the French occupied some of the disputed territory in Acadia and stationed troops on the neck of the peninsula in the vicinity of a hill called Beausejour. When, in

1754 April, 1750, Governor Cornwallis sent Major Charles
1755 Lawrence with four hundred men to the near-by settlement of Beaubassin, Le Loutre set fire to the parish church while his followers burned the houses of the inhabitants and thus compelled them to remove across the Missaguash River to territory occupied by the French. Threatened by a superior force, Lawrence withdrew, but, in the following September, he returned with about seven hundred men. There was resistance followed by devastation of the district at the hands of Indians and Acadians so that the inhabitants were driven to the French for food and shelter. The English then fortified a hill and called the work Fort Lawrence. The French built a fort at Beausejour and petty warfare became chronic. Governor Cornwallis gave up his office in 1752. Hopson, his successor, retired in 1753, and the administration of the province fell upon Lawrence who had been a member of the Nova Scotia council since 1749. Lawrence became lieutenant-governor in 1754 and governor in 1756.



Autograph of Charles Lawrence



The Military Situation

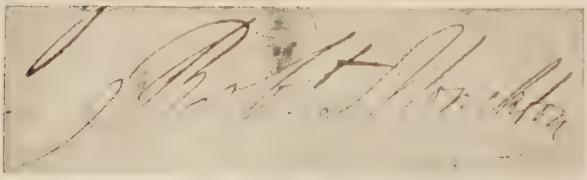
When it became apparent that another general war was impending, the situation confronting the English authorities of Nova Scotia was a trying one. For more than forty years, they had ruled mildly and had endeavored to win over the people, but, for reasons just described, the great majority of the population still adhered to France

Fort Beausejour and Vicinity

1754 rather than to England. Beyond the Missaguash were
1755 Captain Duchambon de Vergor, the commandant of Fort Beausejour, hundreds of forced immigrants from the peninsula, and Indians who were almost as completely dominated by Le Loutre as were the simple peasants. Back of these were Quebec, French regulars, Canadian militia, and Indian allies. On the Nova Scotia side of the Missaguash were other Acadians who called themselves "neutrals," but who might be depended on to take up arms in behalf of France whenever opportunity should offer. Back of these were the French troops at Louisburg. The English occupation of Acadia was gall and wormwood to the French who moreover felt the need of a military road from Quebec to Louisburg. Outside of Halifax, the Nova Scotia forts were weak and some of them dilapidated, the English population was scanty, the militia untrustworthy, and the regular troops no more than were demanded by local needs. Lawrence, who was inclined to a sterner policy than that of Hopson and Cornwallis, knew that he was ill prepared to resist attack and had a well-grounded apprehension that such an attack was in contemplation.

Shirley and Monckton

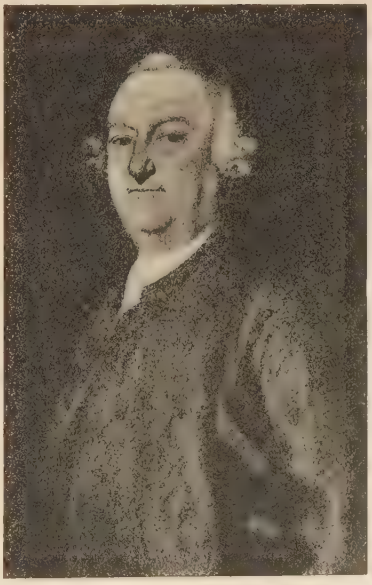
Under such conditions, Governor Lawrence wrote from Halifax to Governor Shirley at Boston stating that he thought it high time to make some effort to drive the French from the north side of the Bay of Fundy. This



letter was borne to Boston by Lieutenant-colonel Robert Monckton who proposed to Shirley that two thousand men be sent from England to capture the French fort at Beausejour. Shirley had already urged similar action on the home authorities and, almost simultaneously with Lawrence's writing to him, had written to Lawrence. In his own epistle, Shirley inclosed a letter from Sir Thomas Robinson, one of the British secretaries of state. Shirley looked upon the secretary's letter as an order for him and Lawrence to act in concert for the expulsion of the French from the disputed region and announced that, if Lawrence put the same construction upon it, he would endeavor to send such assistance as would be needed. Of course, when Monckton arrived at Boston with Lawrence's letter, Shirley at once gave his support to the project. He laid his plans before the Massachusetts assembly in secret session and that body gave its ready approval; in the following April, they were also approved by the governors whom Braddock assembled at Alexandria.

1754 1755

November 7, 1754



General John Winslow

John Winslow

Shirley, as commander-in-chief of Massachusetts, commissioned John Winslow of Marshfield, a great-grandson of one of the Plymouth founders, to raise two thousand volunteers. The men answered readily to his call. They were formed into a regiment of two battalions, the first of which Winslow commanded as lieutenant-colonel. The second battalion was commanded by George Scott. The whole expedition was under the orders of Monckton, who had authority from Lawrence to draw without limit

1755 on two Boston merchants, Apthorp and Hancock. Early in April, the men were mustered at Boston; clothing, blankets, etc., were issued and the transports were at anchor at the Long Wharf; but the muskets had not yet come from England. This was the occasion of a month's dangerous delay, and Shirley, on his return from the council at Alexandria, found the transports at the wharf just as he had left them.

The Capture of Fort Beausejour

The muskets finally arrived and, late in May, the expedition sailed from Boston; within a week, it was at Annapolis Royal. On the first of June, the expedition was on its way to Chignecto, at the head of the Bay of Fundy. Monckton landed his force without opposition and went into camp near Fort Lawrence. Having reinforced his Massachusetts troops with three hundred

June 4 British regulars and an artillery train, he advanced to the attack of Fort Beausejour. After several days of desultory fighting, but before the bombardment had fairly

June 16 begun, Vergor surrendered and Fort Beausejour became Fort Cumberland—the second fort in America to bear the name of the royal duke. On the other side of the isthmus, the French fort at Bay Verte surrendered without resistance and Winslow took possession. The French post at the mouth of the Saint John was evacuated and burned at the approach of Captain Rous, the commander of the little fleet that had convoyed the transports from Boston—and all Acadia was in the hands

Exit Le Loutre of the English. Before the surrender, Le Loutre left Fort Beausejour in disguise and made his way to Quebec where he was received with bitter reproaches from his bishop.

Something Must be Done

The fact that many of the "neutral" French were found among the garrison of Fort Beausejour brought the English council face to face with a serious problem. The qualified loyalty of the past had not been approved by the crown; Governor Lawrence deemed it inexpedient to tolerate it any longer. Mild measures and a conciliatory policy had failed; it was impossible to leave an active enemy encamped in the heart of the province; something must be done.

Early in July, Acadian deputies from Grand Pré and other settlements about the Minas Basin appeared before the governor and council with a memorial that they had previously presented to the commandant of their district. This memorial asserted that the signers had kept the qualified oath previously exacted of them, promised a qualified loyalty in the future, and, in offensive terms, demanded the return of the arms that they had lately been obliged to surrender. There was a current rumor of a French fleet in the Bay of Fundy and the English commander at Minas reported that, in consequence thereof, there had been a change from professed obedience to insolence on the part of the people there. The rumor may be held to account also for the demand of the deputies. Of course, the arms were not returned. 1755 The Grand Pré Memorial

That the deputies might have an opportunity to prove the loyalty that they professed, they were asked to take the unqualified oath which, on two separate days, they refused to do. The governor and council then decided to require the Acadians to send other deputies to Halifax to answer once for all whether or not they would take the oath and resolved that, if they would not swear allegiance to the English king, "effectual measures ought to be taken to remove all such recusants out of the province." Lawrence wrote to the lords of trade in England: "I am determined to bring the inhabitants to a compliance, or to rid the province of such perfidious subjects." This was a terrible conclusion, but it seemed a necessary measure of self-preservation, a stern necessity of war. As such, it is to be judged without the added weight of error or worse in the execution. The war storm was gathering and there was no time to transform these obstinate French peasants into loyal English citizens. A War Necessity

In due time, the deputations came in answer to the summons. Actuated partly by a belief that the English would not carry out their threats, partly by a feeling of brotherhood with the French, but mainly by a superstitious fear of assisting heretics against what they had been taught was the holy cause of the king of France, The Final Refusal

1755 they refused to take the oath demanded. According to the record of the council, "nothing now remained to be considered but what measures should be taken to send the inhabitants away and where they should be sent to."

At Beausejour

July 28

At a meeting of the provincial council, it was unanimously agreed that, "to prevent as much as possible their attempting to return and molest the settlers that may be set down on their lands, it would be most proper to send them to be distributed amongst the several colonies on the continent, and that a sufficient number of vessels should be hired with all possible expedition for that purpose." Lawrence wrote to Monckton at Beausejour that "it will be necessary to keep this measure as secret as possible, as well to prevent their attempting to escape, as to carry off their cattle, etc.; and the better to effect this, you will endeavor to fall upon some stratagem to get the men, both young and old (especially the heads of families), into your power, and detain them till the transports shall arrive, so as they may be ready to be shipped off." Monckton accordingly summoned the male inhabitants of the region about Beausejour to assemble at Fort

August 11

Cumberland and informed those who came "that they were declared rebels, their lands, goods, and chattels forfeited to the Crown, and their bodies to be imprisoned. Upon which the gates of the fort were shut, and they all confined to the amount of four hundred men and upwards."

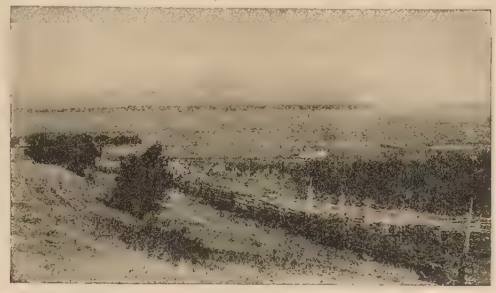
At the Minas Basin

To Winslow fell the sad task of securing the inhabitants about the Minas Basin. His orders left him little room for leniency. "If you find that fair means will not do with them, you must proceed by the most vigorous measures possible, not only in compelling them to embark, but in depriving those who shall escape of all means of shelter or support, by burning their houses and by destroying everything that may afford them the means of subsistence in the country." Similar orders were given to Major John Handfield, in command at Annapolis.

At Grand Pre

Winslow left Fort Cumberland (Beausejour) on the fourteenth of August, and sailed down the Chignecto channel to the Bay of Fundy, up through the Minas

Basin to the estuary of the river Pisiquid, since called the Avon. Here, where the town of Windsor stands, was a stockade called Fort Edward and under the command of Captain Alexander Murray. After a conference between the two commanders, Winslow retraced his course to Grand Pré. He ordered all sacred things removed from the church "to prevent their being defiled by heretics" and then used the church as a storehouse and place of arms. Murray visited Winslow and Winslow called on Murray, and the two drew up proclamations of similar tenor, one to the inhabitants of the district about Fort Edward and the other to those about Grand Pré. These proclamations were sent out on the fourth of September; they required the male inhabitants of ten years and upwards to assemble on the fifth. 1755 September 2



Grand Pré Meadows

"Att Three in the afternoon The French Inhabitants appeard agreable to their Citation at the Church in Grand Pre amounting To 418 of Their Best Men upon which I ordered a Table to be Sett in the Center of the Church and being attended with those of my officers who were off Gaurd Delivered them by Interpretors the King's orders In the Following woords: Winslow's Account

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have Received from his Excellency Governor Lawrance. The Kings Commission which I have in my hand and by whose orders you are Convened togather to Manifest to you his Majesty's Final resolution to the French Inhabitants of this his Province of Nova Scotia. who for almost half a Centry have had more Indulgence Granted them, then any of his Subjects in any part of his Dominions. what use you have made of them. you your Self Best Know.

1755 "The Part of Duty I am now upon is what thoh Necessary is Very Disagreable to my natural make & Temper as I Know it Must be Grevious to you who are of the Same Specia.

"But it is not my Buisness to annimedvert, but to obey Such orders as I receive and therefore without Hessitation Shall Deliver you his Majesty's orders and Instructions vizt.

"That your Lands & Tennements, Cattle of all Kinds and Live Stock of all Sortes are Forfitted to the Crown with all other your Effects Saving your money and Household Goods and you your Selves to be removed from this his Province." To this Winslow added: "I Shall do Every thing in my Power that all Those Goods be Secured to you and that you are Not Molested in Carrying of them of and also that whole Familys Shall go in the Same Vessel. and make this remove which I am Sensable must give you a great Deal of Trouble as Easey as his Majesty's Service will admit and hope that in what Ever part of the world you may Fall you may be Faithfull Subjects, a Peasable and happy People."

Short Furloughs

After Winslow had returned to his quarters at the priest's house, the Acadians, "Fearfull that the Surprise of their Detention here would Quite over Come their Familys whome they had No Means to apprise of these their Maloncolly Circumstances," begged that, some being retained as hostages, the greater part of their number be allowed to return home. After a consultation with his officers, Winslow permitted twenty to go "to acquaint the Families of their Districts how Maters where and to assure them that the women & children Should be in Safety in their absence in their Habitations." The twenty were to return "at the End of Every 24 Houers & Others to go out in their room—the French them Selves to Chose these People, and to be answerable for their return." Toward night, the prisoners, "not having any Provissions with them, and Pleading Hunger begd for Bread." They were given bread, although it was decreed that their future wants must be supplied by

Short Rations

their respective families. "Thus ended," writes Winslow in his journal, "the memerable fifth of September, a Day of Great Fatigue and troble." 1755

The Deportation

Meanwhile similar scenes had been enacted in the other districts. After long delay, transports hired at Boston arrived; the orders were executed with a severity for which the world refuses to accept any justification. There was great destruction of property and, in Winslow's district alone, nearly seven hundred buildings were burned. These events have cast a shadow upon Winslow's name, although it appears certain that his whole nature revolted from the cruelty that a soldier's obedience compelled him to inflict. We have his declaration, made at the time, that it was the most disagreeable duty he had had to perform in his whole life. Some of the detachments sent out to seize the inhabitants found the settlements abandoned. Many of the people escaped to Canada and some of the men lurked in the woods to wage for several years a useless guerilla warfare against the English. Of the six thousand removed from the province, some were sent to Boston, some to Connecticut, and others to New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, with instructions to the colonial governors to "dispose of them in such manner as may best answer our design in preventing their reunion." The work of deportation was still going on in 1762.

The Exiles

It was inevitable that the exiles should suffer many inconveniences and hardships. In some quarters, certainly in Massachusetts, the charge of their support for years entered more or less into the burdens of the towns in which they were placed. In Philadelphia, people of kindred blood, descendants of the Huguenots, received them kindly. In Virginia, the clamor against them was so great that five thousand pounds was voted by the assembly to send them to England and, in the Carolinas and Georgia, they were not more welcome. In July, 1759, at Charles Town, the wardens of Saint Philip's church reported to the South Carolina commons house

1755 of assembly that "they have for some years been burthen'd with providing for a great number of People called Acadians for which there is neither prescription, Law or Resolution of either House to warrant Parish officers providing for such, nor can any assessment be made on the Inhabitants for their relief. . . . They therefore do declare their intention of finally declining those affairs as are no ways relative to the duty of their office, and pray for such order of the House as in their wisdom shall seem meet." A few months later, a committee of the house reported that there were about three hundred and forty Acadians in Charles Town and recommended a grant of two thousand pounds (currency) for their relief. South Carolina was then engaged in serious war with the Cherokees, and the fear that the Acadians would aid the enemy was so great that the assembly voted money for the transportation of the exiles from the province.

February 9, 1760

They Remember

No wonder that wherever they went they "retained an unconquerable dislike of the English. The race which, in Acadia, had deprived them of everything, of all that is dear to the human heart, was the race they met in Massachusetts, in Pennsylvania, in Virginia, in all the English colonies to which they were transported. It was the race of their oppressors, and the bread which pity or charity presented to them was English bread offered by an English hand!" Most of those who escaped to Canada fared even worse than those scattered among the English. Few of the exiles remained permanently in the places to which they were carried. Some drifted back to Acadia; some went to France; some to the West Indies; many, after years of suffering and longing, found an asylum in Louisiana and there, with the aid of public purse and private charity, made themselves permanent homes.

The Verdict of History

The necessity for this wholesale deportation and the cruelty with which it was accomplished have been much discussed. For several generations, "writers of the compassionate school" made much of the episode and

heightened the strong color of their pictures by emphasizing the simplicity and content of the picturesque and peace-loving Acadian French — ideal tales to which were added the charms of Longfellow's verse. Although it is claimed that some of the archives at Halifax were garbled in publication, historical research has dispelled much of the illusion concerning the real character of these 1755

> Men whose lives glided on like rivers that
> water the woodlands,

and brought into stronger light and clearer view the necessity for their removal as a measure of self-preservation on the part of the English authorities in Nova Scotia. But musty records and cold logic cannot put down active sympathies with the weak, the inherent love of fair play, or even the dash of poetry that enters into the make-up of men. It is to the credit of human nature that few seek to justify what makes one of the saddest pages of American history.

An Unsatisfactory Year

The Acadian expedition had accomplished its purpose, but the failure of the other portions of the quadrilateral campaign planned at Alexandria had left the English cause in a condition far from satisfactory. When the year came to its end, the hamlet at Draper's Meadows and the posts at Lake George and Oswego were held by the English; but Fort Saint Frederick, Fort Niagara, and Fort Duquesne were still in possession of the French; the whole western frontier lay open to attack. Governor Belcher had written to Shirley that things looked "as if the coming year will be the criterion whereby we shall be able to conclude whether the French shall drive us into the sea, or whether King George shall be the emperour of North America," and to Sir John Saint Clair that "Canada must be rooted out." The general feeling was that the next campaign should be a vigorous one.

Earthquakes and Lightning

The war was not, however, the only subject that occupied the minds of the people. On the first of November, occurred the great Lisbon earthquake and, early on the morning of the eighteenth, New England

1755 was shaken into wakefulness and terror. Eight days later, Professor John Winthrop gave at Cambridge his famous lecture on earthquakes and, in December, all Boston was telling or hearing the now familiar story of Franklin and his kite.

CHAPTER VI

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1756—OSWEGO

UNDER a pretense of peace, hostilities had been waged for two years. England had brought into her ports several hundred prizes, and France, "no match for her amphibious enemy in the game of marine depredation, cried out in horror." At last the diplomats of the two nations took official notice of things that were. In the spring of 1756, England declared war and, within a month, France did the same. It was the rising of the curtain for the coming tragedy, the most terrible conflict of the eighteenth century.

War Declared

May 18

June 9

Europe had felt the premonitory rumbling of the coming earthquake and, on every side, there was an overturning of traditional alliances. George II. of England agreed to subsidize some of the petty German states and negotiated a treaty with Elizabeth of Russia whereby, in consideration of a large annual payment, she was to send fifty-five thousand troops for the protection of his beloved Hanover. In the meantime, England requested Austria, as a check upon the French, to strengthen her forces in the Austrian Netherlands, but Maria Theresa and her great chancellor of state, Kaunitz, were anxious to fight Prussia rather than France and their reply was far from satisfactory. England thereupon turned to Frederick of Prussia, with whom her relations had for some time been far from cordial, and arranged with him an alliance called the convention of Westminster.

The Diplomatic Revolution

September, 1755

January 16, 1756

The convention of Westminster led to results that

1756 were not foreseen by either of the contracting parties.

Frederick the Great

Frederick had incurred the enmity of three women—"two empresses and a concubine." Maria Theresa of Austria, a princess virtuous but vindictive, hated him with all the intensity of her haughty Hapsburg nature because he had wrested from her the rich province of Silesia; the recovery of this lost jewel and the humiliation of this prince of the upstart house of Hohenzollern were the center of all her schemes and dreams. In the situation that now presented itself, her adviser, Kaunitz, saw an opportunity for working out a policy that he had formulated as early as 1749. Elizabeth of Russia hated Frederick because he had written satirical verses that reflected upon her rather indifferent morals; for some years, she had had a secret understanding with Austria and Saxony to reduce Prussia once more to the condition of a fourth-rate power. When she heard of the convention of Westminster, she flew into a rage and practically abrogated the treaty with England by declaring that the troops promised by her for the defense of Hanover could be used only against Prussia. She then announced that she was prepared to take part with eighty thousand men in a war against Prussia and that she would not lay down her arms until her sister queen, Maria Theresa, was once more in possession of Silesia.

Two Hostile Empresses

April

The Pompadour

Madame de Pompadour, the all-powerful mistress of Louis XV., king of France, hated Frederick because, it is said, he had refused to answer a complimentary message that she had sent to him by Voltaire and because his caustic wit had spared neither her nor her royal lover. Her influence, however, had not been able to overcome the old French antipathy for Austria, and a French envoy had been sent to Berlin to revive the alliance with Frederick. The envoy arrived just in time to hear of the convention of Westminster. The French king and ministry were furiously indignant, the Austrians pressed negotiations, the Pompadour worked in their interest, and an alliance was consummated between the house of Bourbon and the house of Hapsburg, hereditary enemies.

Sweden, the Holy Roman Empire which by this time was "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire," various minor states, and ultimately Spain, joined in the war; England and Prussia stood opposed to a continent in arms. The European phase of the conflict that followed is known as the Seven Years' war; the American part thereof as the French and Indian war. 1756

Madame de Pompadour

The Newcastle Ministry

The English government was in hands ill fitted for such a crisis. Henry Pelham had died and his place, as first lord of the treasury and premier, had passed to his brother, Thomas Pelham, the incompetent duke of Newcastle. As his leader in the house of commons, Newcastle chose the dull and heavy Sir Thomas Robinson. Halifax, the head of the board of trade, was energetic, but the government as a whole was weak; Parkman says that it supplied by spasms of violence what it lacked in considerate resolution. Shunning altercations with the colonial assemblies in America, it sent out instructions "not to press the establishment of a perpetual revenue for the present" and remunerated the northern colonies for their expenses in the late campaign. Of this gratuity, for such it was held to be, fifty-four thousand pounds went to Massachusetts, twenty-six thousand to Connecticut, fifteen thousand to New York, and smaller amounts to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New Jersey.

1756 The French Government

Fortunately for England and her colonies, the French government was even more incompetent. France should have avoided the continental struggle and devoted all her energies to the maritime and colonial conflict with her real enemy, England. As it was, her court regarded the American conflict as of secondary importance; the great contest was to be in Germany. In one respect, this indifference toward the colonies was to prove advantageous to France. It was necessary to send a new general to take Dieskau's place, but none of the court favorites desired an appointment that meant exile in the forests of America. D'Argenson, the French minister of war, was thus enabled to make merit the basis of his selection. He chose Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm.

Montcalm

The new general was well fitted for the work before him. For generations, his family had been so devoted to the profession of arms that there was an old saying to the effect that "*La guerre est le tombeau des Montcalm*," that is, "War is the tomb of the Montcalms." Born in 1712 in the chateau of Candiac near Nîmes, he received an excellent education. At the

Montcalm

age of fifteen, he entered the regiment of Hainault as an ensign, attained the colonelcy of the Auxerrois in 1743, was five times wounded under the walls of Piacenza and was taken prisoner; subsequently he attained the rank of brigadier-general. Upon the death of his father in 1735, he succeeded to the family honors and a moderate estate. In the following year, he married Angélique Louise Talon du Boulay by whom he had a large family of children. Unlike many of the French nobles of the eighteenth century, his tastes were domestic, he cared little for the corrupt life of the court, and was never so happy as when in his own family circle at Candiac. Soldierly and scholarly, pious and ardently loyal to his king, Montcalm's ambitions were for the baton of a marshal and for membership in the Academy. He sailed for Canada on the third of April and was at Quebec by the middle of May. 1756

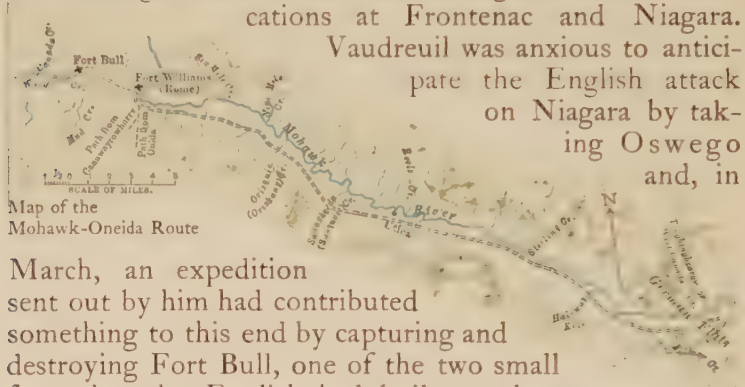
Lévis, Bourlamaque, and Bougainville

Montcalm's position was not an enviable one. The government had given him excellent subordinates, the Chevalier de Lévis with the rank of brigadier, the Chevalier de Bourlamaque with the rank of colonel, and Bougainville as his chief aide-de-camp, but in the way of troops it had furnished him with only two new battalions. "Louis XV. and Pompadour sent a hundred thousand men to fight the battles of Austria, and could spare but twelve hundred men to reënforce New France." Furthermore, the new major-general was greatly hampered in his freedom of action. Vaudreuil, the vain and jealous governor-general, was the superior in all matters, military as well as civil; Montcalm was merely to execute the governor's orders. Nor was this all. Montcalm's command was limited to the regular troops from France; the command of the Canadian regulars and militia, and of the Indians, was left to Vaudreuil's discretion. As the governor had hoped to command the troops himself, it may well be imagined that he received his colleague with more curiosity than satisfaction.

Vaudreuil's Activity

At the time of Montcalm's arrival, the military situation in the colony was somewhat perplexing. French

1756 and English were both striving to secure the Iroquois alliance; the result of their rivalry was still in doubt. During the winter, the French had continued to fortify Ticonderoga (Carillon) and had strengthened the fortifications at Frontenac and Niagara. Vaudreuil was anxious to anticipate the English attack on Niagara by taking Oswego and, in March, an expedition sent out by him had contributed something to this end by capturing and destroying Fort Bull, one of the two small forts that the English had built on the portage between the Mohawk River and Lake Oneida. In June, tidings were brought to Montreal that ten thousand English were on their way to attack Ticonderoga. Reinforcements were sent thither, the militia were called out, and Montcalm and Lévis hastened to the supposedly threatened fortress.



Map of the Mohawk-Oneida Route

Shirley's Plans

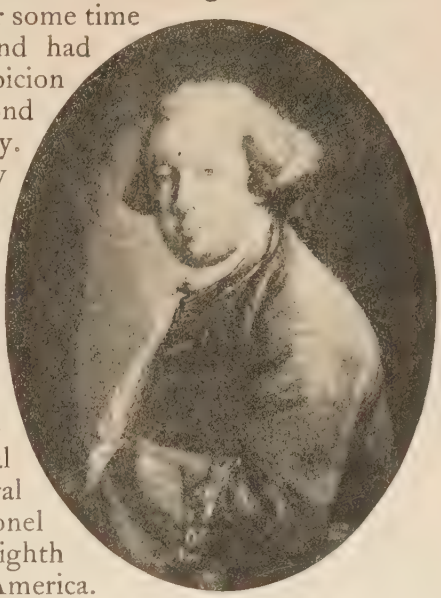
In the English colonies, the military authorities had not been idle. Early in December, Shirley had received a commission as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. A few days later, he held a council of war at New York and laid before it a comprehensive plan for a new campaign. Ticonderoga was to be surprised by

Coat of Arms of William Shirley

forces sent forward on the ice of the frozen lakes; Quebec was to be threatened by an expedition sent by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudière; Fort Duquesne was to be captured; the French forts about Lake Ontario were to be taken. The council approved the scheme, but the mildness of the winter postponed the advance by Lake George, and, because of the apathy of the southern colonies and the consequent lack of troops, the attack on Fort Duquesne and the diversion toward Quebec had to be abandoned. After some coquetting with Pepperrell, Shirley appointed General John Winslow to command the forces in the campaign against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, while he prepared to renew in person the attack on Niagara. 1756

Shirley Superseded

But Shirley was not long to enjoy his newly attained honors. Sir William Johnson and Lieutenant-governor De Lancey of New York had for some time been intriguing against him and had been aided by a growing suspicion that he had been pushed beyond the limits of his military ability. Sir Charles Hardy, the newly appointed governor of New York, was won over by the coalition and his representations had great weight with the ministry. In February, the earl of Loudoun, a friend of Lord Halifax, was appointed commander-in-chief of the British troops in the continental provinces of America. General James Abercromby and Colonel Daniel Webb of the Forty-eighth Foot were also ordered to America. Shirley was to hand over his command to Webb, who was to pass it on to Abercromby, and he, in turn, to Loudoun. Shirley's enemies had deprived him not only of his military command, but also of his



Thomas Pownall

1756

Thomas Pownall's Coat of Arms

gubernatorial office. His successor as governor of Massachusetts was Thomas Pownall who, in 1753, had first come to America with the unfortunate Sir Danvers Osborne and, in 1755, had been made lieutenant-governor of New Jersey.

Lord Loudoun

Although Loudoun had never shown ability as soldier or statesman, he was further dignified by an appointment as governor of Virginia with a commission that made him independent of the other colonial governors and superior to them. He was instructed to give the colonial assemblies to understand that the king required of them a general fund to be issued and applied as the commander-in-chief should direct, and provision for such charges as might arise from furnishing quarters for the troops of his majesty. Montcalm was a soldier of ability and experience; Loudoun was, according to the earl of Shelburne, "a mere pen-and-ink man, whose greatest energies were put forth in getting ready to begin." Webb and Abercromby arrived at New York with two battalions in June, and

Loudoun

Shirley went thither to meet them. Loudoun lingered for the transports that were to carry tents and tools, artillery and ammunition, but, toward the end of May, sailed without them. He was met by Shirley at New York on the twenty-third of July. 1756

Shirley's Continued Zeal

Shirley had received, in April, an intimation that he was about to be superseded, but, in spite of the mortification he must have felt and of domestic sorrows — another of his sons had died — he adhered to his task with characteristic zeal. Naturally, his first care was for the Oswego-Niagara expedition, the immediate command of which he intended for himself. He established his headquarters at Albany, sent troops to protect the way to Oswego, rebuilt Fort Bull, gathered provisions and stores along the route, and organized a large body of armed whalemen and boatmen for transportation service. These men were under the command of Lieutenant-colonel John Bradstreet.

The Winslow Expedition

Meanwhile the New England and the New York levies were gathering for the expedition that Winslow was to lead against Crown Point. At the end of May, Winslow advanced his headquarters from Albany a short distance up the Hudson to Half Moon where rapids put a limit to the navigation of the river. Thence, by wagon and by boat, stores were forwarded to Fort Edward and Fort William Henry, at which latter place men, under command of Colonel Jonathan Bagley, were making ready three sloops and several hundred whaleboats to carry the army from the head of Lake George to Ticonderoga. Early in July, Bagley notified Winslow that he would "leave no stone unturned; every wheel shall go that rum and human flesh can move." Although Winslow's seven thousand men were raw recruits, some of them were learning the art of forest warfare rapidly, and one of them, Captain Robert Rogers, was already on the way to fame. On the seventeenth of June, Rogers and his band crept within the outposts of Ticonderoga and made a survey of the fort and surrounding camps. His report showed that Winslow had a hard nut to crack.

1756 Abercromby

By the twenty-fifth of June, Abercromby was at Albany. On the twenty-sixth, Shirley informed him of the condition of Oswego and urged that two battalions should be sent forward for its protection. The posts along the route were well provisioned and the boats were ready, but Abercromby had more important plans. On the twenty-seventh, soldiers were billeted upon the town. Then the general ordered a survey of Albany that a ditch and stockade might be built around it. Abercromby was still at Albany when Lord Loudoun arrived on the twenty-ninth of July.

Fort Frederick at Albany

Loudoun in Command

Shirley outlined his plan of campaign to this "irritating and irritable nobleman," who signalized his accession to the command by promptly countermanding the order for the Niagara expedition and by promulgating a royal mandate to the effect that no provincial officer should rank higher than a captain of regulars. Under this amazing order, a regular major who had never smelled gun-

Plan of Albany

powder would outrank veterans like Winslow and Lyman. It is said that although Loudoun was "a wooden kind of a man," he was greatly annoyed by the order which he was unable to rescind or to modify. Of course, the colonial troops were indignant and some of them were prevented from returning to their homes only by the influence of General Winslow, the principal and immediate victim of the discrimination. Meantime, Pitt in England was writing: "I dread to hear from America;" and Loudoun, with ten or twelve thousand men under his orders, wasted time in doing nothing. 1756

While Abercromby and Loudoun were thus idle, probably not realizing the strategic value of Oswego, the French were active. In May, Vaudreuil had sent out the intrepid Coulon de Villiers with about eleven hundred Canadians, regulars, and Indians to intercept supplies destined for Oswego and to harass that post. A part of this force surprised Bradstreet's boatmen as they were on their way back from Oswego to Albany. Bradstreet's few followers kept the enemy in check until reinforcements came. The English then turned the tables upon their assailants and drove them off with loss. From two prisoners, Bradstreet learned that the French meant to attack Oswego instead of waiting at Fort Frontenac to be attacked from Oswego. But his report did not stir the inefficient Abercromby or the dilatory Lou- French Activity July 3 July 12

Map of the Eastern End of Lake Ontario

1756 doun to quick action as it should have done. After a month's delay, Loudoun sent Colonel Webb and the forty-fourth regiment and some of Bradstreet's boatmen to reinforce the threatened fortress—too late.

August 12

Forts Ontario and Pepperrell

Montcalm suddenly returned from Ticonderoga to Montreal, hastened to Niaouré Bay (now Sacketts Harbor), gathered there three thousand men, and, two days before Loudoun sent his reinforcements, landed within half a league of Oswego. The French directed their first attack against Fort Ontario, on the eastern side of the river; but before they had begun a bombardment, Colonel Mercer, the commandant at Oswego, well aware that the fort was untenable against cannon, signalled the garrison to retreat across the river. The remnant of Pepperrell's regiment and the few raw recruits, three hundred and seventy in all, spiked the cannons, destroyed the provisions and ammunition, and

Montcalm Captures Oswego

Map of Montcalm's Attack on Oswego

passed over unmolested to Fort Oswego. On the brink of the hill on which stood the abandoned fort, Montcalm planted his artillery including some of the guns that Braddock had lost on the Monongahela. He then opened fire on Oswego four hundred and fifty yards distant and sent a strong force of Canadians and Indians to attack the rear. Mercer was cut in two by a cannon-ball, despair seized the defenders, and the garrison surrendered. The French captured about sixteen hundred prisoners of war, a hundred and twenty-one cannons, much ammunition, seven vessels, six of which were armed, and two hundred barges and bateaux, an armament intended for the attack on Niagara and Frontenac. There are stories of a massacre, but Montcalm did what he could to restrain his Indian allies, and it is not certain that any massacre really took place. 1756 August 14

Montcalm was surprised at his easy success which he had not dared to expect so soon. It was the greatest that French troops had yet won in America. The captured forts were in the country of the Six Nations. Montcalm promptly destroyed the forts and thus impressed the Indians with the greater prowess of the French and with their willingness to leave the Iroquois territory unoccupied. Colonel Webb and his regiment of regulars, en route to the relief of Oswego, were at the great portage when they heard of the disaster. They destroyed the fortifications there and, in shameful precipitation, retreated with the garrison, abandoning thus their last post in the Iroquois country and strengthening the French schemes for alliance with that warlike people. Among the English the panic was universal. Colonel Williams wrote: "Such a shocking affair has never found a place in English annals. The loss is beyond account; but the dishonor done His Majesty's arms is infinitely greater." The capture of Oswego lacked the dramatic intensity of Braddock's defeat the year before, but the results were more far-reaching. It was immediately manifest that nothing could be expected from all the preparations made for the campaign. Oswego Destroyed

Map of the Forts at the Oneida Portage

Montcalm was soon again at Ticonderoga eyeing Winslow at the other end of the lake. He had more than five thousand men and his position was so strong that he might safely defy an English force three times as numerous as his own. At Fort William Henry, Winslow intrenched his camp and cut down the trees a mile back from the lake. Loudoun was at Fort Edward. Along the line from Fort Albany to Lake George, he had about ten thousand men. As neither he nor Montcalm cared to make an attack at that time, the advance posts on both sides were garrisoned and, in November, both armies withdrew into winter quarters. The French regulars were quartered on the Canadians who accepted the burden as a matter of course. Only five or six companies were left at Ticonderoga. Winslow's provincials sought their homes, leaving Major William Eyre with four hundred regulars to hold Fort William Henry. The other English regulars were sent to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. When Loudoun not unreasonably demanded free quarters for them there, the Pennsylvania assembly and the New York city council hesitated until the threats of the commander-in-chief secured the demanded shelter. The New York citizens raised a subscription and paid for the required accommodations. At Boston, the troops were made comfortable in the barracks of Castle William.

1756 In Winter Quarters

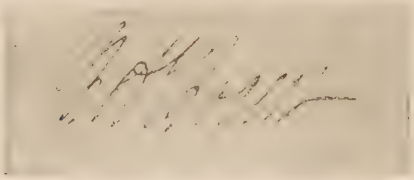
During that winter, Robert Rogers of New Hampshire and the blunt and sturdy Israel Putnam of Connecticut with their rangers met the forays of prowling Indian and Canadian scout as best they could in the beautiful country around Lake George, the chief center of a hardy by-play of war. Of the two, Rogers was then the more celebrated. Before the war he had, it is said, carried on smuggling operations between Canada and New England

Major Rogers

Autograph of Israel Putnam

1756 and, while thus engaged, had learned a little of the French language and acquired a good knowledge of the country. He had been accused of forgery and, after the war, was suspected of treasonable dealings with the Spaniards and French in the West, but the signal services he rendered caused the English to wink at his faults; "as a man, his deserts were small; as a bush fighter, he was beyond reproach." The bands of borderers that he raised sometimes acted together, sometimes separately, but always under his orders as major.

Shirley Retires



Loudoun, who was more responsible for the loss of Oswego than anyone else, tried to throw the blame upon Shirley and, with indecent curtness, ordered him to go back to England. Shirley made a dignified reply and soon set sail, bearing with him cordial and earnest expressions of the esteem of the general court of Massachusetts and leaving that province to the chief magistracy of Lieutenant-governor Spencer Phips. After long waiting, he was given the petty government of the Bahamas. He never again held office in Massachusetts, although he returned in 1770 and built a mansion at Roxbury, where he died within a year.

September 25

1756

On the Frontier

While these things were happening, the tomahawk had been active on the western border. In an effort to check the inroads of the Indians, a chain of blockhouses and wooden forts was constructed from the vicinity of Esopus on the Hudson to the head of the James River in Virginia. Many of the garrisons were disorderly and lawless and some of the forts were almost worthless. This bad condition was made still worse in Pennsylvania where, in spite of the efforts of Colonel Benjamin Franklin, the inertness of the Quakers and the chronic quarrel between the governor and the assembly made any adequate defense impossible. Shirley's old rival, Sir William Johnson, who in March, 1756, had been appointed agent and sole superintendent of the affairs of the Six Nations and other northern Indians, was trying with indifferent success to hold the Iroquois to their alliance and to check the Indian depredations along the Juniata and the Susquehanna. Sharpe of Maryland and Dinwiddie of Virginia were establishing new forts and trying to keep up the courage of the people. Washington was building a line of stockaded posts twenty or thirty miles apart, convenient rallying points for settlers in case of incursions by hostile Indians; and Andrew Lewis led a force of Virginians and Cherokees against the Shawnee towns two hundred and fifty miles beyond the frontiers of the Old Dominion.

Among the Cherokees

November 24, 1755

In the previous year, Governor Glen of South Carolina had concluded a treaty with the Cherokees at Saluda by which the Indians released certain of their lands to "the Great King George" and in accordance with which South Carolina built Fort Prince George in the country of the lower Cherokees (the present Pickens County, South Carolina). In 1756, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent commissioners who, in February, concluded a treaty of alliance with the Catawbas and, in March, a similar treaty with the Cherokees. Both of these treaties with the Cherokees provided for the building of a fort for the overhill Indians. Dinwiddie promptly sent Andrew Lewis and a force of men to build the fort. In April, Dinwiddie

1756 wrote to Governor Dobbs of North Carolina that he had supposed that the fort "had been built before this, as I sent Gov'r Glen near 18 mo's ago 1,000£ St'r towards building thereof; but he has not begun it, w'ch makes those People very uneasy, and I fear if not built this Sum'r they will join the French." Four months later, he wrote again saying: "I have a Letter from Major Lewis among the Cherokees. He has finish'd the fort I sent him to build for them, and that much to their satisfaction, and without the least Assistance from So. Carolina." On the other hand, a South Carolina historian tells us that "the Carolinians were assisted . . . by a hundred men sent for that purpose from Virginia." At all events, the fort was built on the south bank of the Little Tennessee River, at the mouth of the Tellico River, and near the southeast corner of the present Loudon County, Tennessee. It was named Fort Loudoun in honor of the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America and was garrisoned by troops under command of captains Demere and Stuart whom we shall meet again.

August 26

Kittanning

At the end of August, before Pennsylvania's frontier forts were finished, Lieutenant-colonel John Armstrong, one of those who in 1755 had built the road westward from Carlisle by way of Raystown, led three hundred Pennsylvanians from Fort Shirley over the mountains. Within a week, they fell upon the hostile Delawares at Kittanning between the two French posts of Duquesne and Venango, killed thirty or forty Indians, rescued eleven English captives, and destroyed the village. A bold stroke like this, made by lethargic Pennsylvania, could not fail to have a marked moral effect upon the other English colonies as well as upon the Indians, but such successes were the exception rather than the rule. Not a week passed but the French sent out bands of what they called "hairdressers," who, writes a Frenchman, "committed unheard-of cruelties, carried off families," and brought in an incredible "quantity of scalps."

Thus the year ended in gloom and a sense of power-

1756

Map of Pennsylvania, Showing Battle of Kittanning

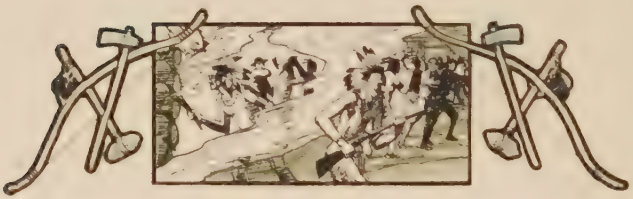
lessness. The English were more numerous than their enemies and not less valiant, but their advantage was neutralized by two weaknesses, one strategical and one political. The French could move along straight lines from Montreal toward Lake Ontario or Lake Champlain as attack or defense made desirable; the English had to work their way along a vast labyrinthine semicircle. Montcalm was more of a general than Shirley or Loudoun, but this, important as is the competency of a commander, was of less moment than the fact that against a compact military absolutism were arrayed discordant semi-republics. In Parkman's concise statement, a long and dismal apprenticeship awaited the English colonies before they could hope for success; nor could they put forth their full strength without a radical change of political conditions and an awakened consciousness of common interests and a common cause.

Gloom in the English Colonies

In Europe and the far East, English arms were no more triumphant than in America. Frederick of Prussia had overrun Saxony and won a victory over the Austrians, but his enemies were gathering vast armaments and Hanover was in imminent danger. Fort William at Calcutta

Anger in England

1756 June had been seized by the vicious viceroy, Surajah Dowlah, and the prisoners subjected to the horrors of the Black Hole. Yet more serious and far more galling to English pride was the loss of Minorca. Against this island, which for almost half a century had been in English April hands, the French had sent a fleet under the Marquis de la Galissonière and a land force under the duke of Richelieu. To relieve the island, the English sent Admiral John Byng from Gibraltar, but, finding the French fleet slightly superior to his own, Byng withdrew after a partial engagement and left the island to its fate. The news aroused a terrible tempest of anger in England. November Newcastle was driven out of office. Byng was tried by court-martial, condemned to death, and shot in the following March. "To encourage the others," was Voltaire's comment. It was thus established, once for all, that the odds must be tremendous to justify a British admiral in turning his back upon an enemy.



CHAPTER VII

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1757—FORT WILLIAM HENRY

Rigaud Attacks Fort William Henry

IN his own inimitable style, Francis Parkman tells us of the slow dragging away of the weary winter until, in the cheerless season when clouds hang low on the darkened mountains and cold mists entangle themselves in the tops of the pines, the Irish soldiers who formed a part of the garrison at Fort William Henry paid homage to their patron, Saint Patrick, in libations of New England rum. It was well that in the next twenty-four hours the revelers had time to rally from their pious carouse, for, in the night of the eighteenth and nineteenth of March, the French opened a new campaign by an attempt to surprise the fort. Vaudreuil had sent his brother, Rigaud, with sixteen hundred well-equipped regulars, militia, and Indians. They had marched along the ice on Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga where they rested and made ready for a week. Then they marched three days along Lake George to attack a garrison that consisted of not more than three hundred and fifty effective men. Their approach was detected and, as they neared the fort, they found the English gunners at their posts and received a warm welcome of grape- and round-shot from the cannon. The governor's disappointed brother withdrew his forces at daybreak. After lingering in the vicinity of the fort from Saturday until Wednesday, making various martial demonstrations, demanding a surrender with the alternative of a general assault and massacre, and burning several hundred scows

March 17, 1757

1757 and whaleboats and a sloop, "a superb bonfire amid the wilderness of snow," Rigaud and his sixteen hundred took up their toiling homeward way on snow-shoes. When they came, the ice was bare; when they went, it was covered to a depth of three feet or more. The sun rose bright and many of the invaders, blinded by the insufferable glare, had to be led homeward by their comrades.

French Regulars versus Canadian Militia

In the preparations for this expedition and in the choice of its commander, Vaudreuil had overridden the wishes of Montcalm — not the first difference between the two nor the last. Vaudreuil was colonial born, son of a former governor-general of New France; he had a prejudice in favor of everything colonial and a real or affected contempt for almost everything else. In his conversation and correspondence, he habitually disparaged Montcalm and his French officers and regulars, at the same time exalting the Canadians, the Indians, and himself. Montcalm was impetuous and free of speech, and between him and the jealous governor talebearers flitted to and fro. In time, the colony came to be divided into two factions, that of Vaudreuil and that of Montcalm. One man on each side was successful in avoiding a break with the other faction, Lévis, Montcalm's brave and brilliant lieutenant, who was disposed to be on good terms with everybody, and Bigot, the short, pimply-faced intendant, who was as adroit as he was ugly and corrupt.

Lévis

1757

Vaudreuil Gets Reinforcements

In spite of his dislike for everything not Canadian, Vaudreuil had to ask for reinforcements from France. The ministry sent twenty-four hundred regulars and informed the governor that a formidable fleet was fitting out in British ports. Perhaps Quebec was to be attacked, perhaps Louisburg; if Quebec, all the troops in Canada would be needed for its protection; if Louisburg, a stronghold that was practically beyond the reach of aid from Montreal, help must be sent from France and the troops in Canada would be available for aggressive action.

English Plans and Politics

December, 1756

After the fall of Oswego, Lord Loudoun had recognized the necessity of a success of some kind; late in 1756, he proposed to the English government a scheme for the capture of Louisburg with an attack on Quebec as a remote possibility. The Newcastle ministry had been temporarily succeeded by one of which the duke of Devonshire was nominally premier, but of which William Pitt, secretary of state, was the actual head. Pitt approved the project and parliament voted the men; by the end of March, the city of Cork on the west coast of Ireland swarmed with thousands of soldiers and sailors who were enjoying the good will of the citizens and waiting for the fleet that was to carry them to Halifax. But in early April, Pitt and his colleagues were dismissed from office. Newcastle, again summoned by the king, was unable to form a government, and England, in the midst of a disastrous war, was for eleven weeks without a ministry. Meanwhile an English spy in the service of France reported the preparations of an armament for America, and three French squadrons were promptly sent to Louisburg. Not until May did the English fleet under Admiral Holbourne sail for Halifax to meet Lord Loudoun and the army that he was to gather there.

Loudoun has his Eye on Louisburg

In January, Loudoun met the governors of the northern colonies at Boston; in March, he met those of the southern colonies at Philadelphia. Pepperrell's success and glory had not been rubbed out of memory by the intervening dozen years and the scheme for a second capture of Louisburg was popular. New England

1757 furnished the four thousand asked for and New York and New Jersey added to the provincial contingent. Loudoun withdrew the best part of the troops from the northern frontier and gathered them at New York for embarkation. To insure a sufficient number of transports and perhaps to prevent the secret of his destination from being carried to the French, he induced the colonial governors from Massachusetts to Virginia to impose an embargo on all shipping. He was anxious to reach Halifax, but he had heard of a French fleet off the coast powerful enough to sink his transports and the weak escort that had been intrusted to the command of Sir Charles Hardy, who had resigned his governorship of New York to reënter the navy. After waiting in vain for news of Holbourne and his fleet, Loudoun and Hardy took their chances and, on the twentieth of June, sailed for Halifax. Luckily they made the run without interference and cast anchor at the rendezvous on the last day of the month. Holbourne and his fleet arrived a few days later.

Loudoun Goes to Halifax

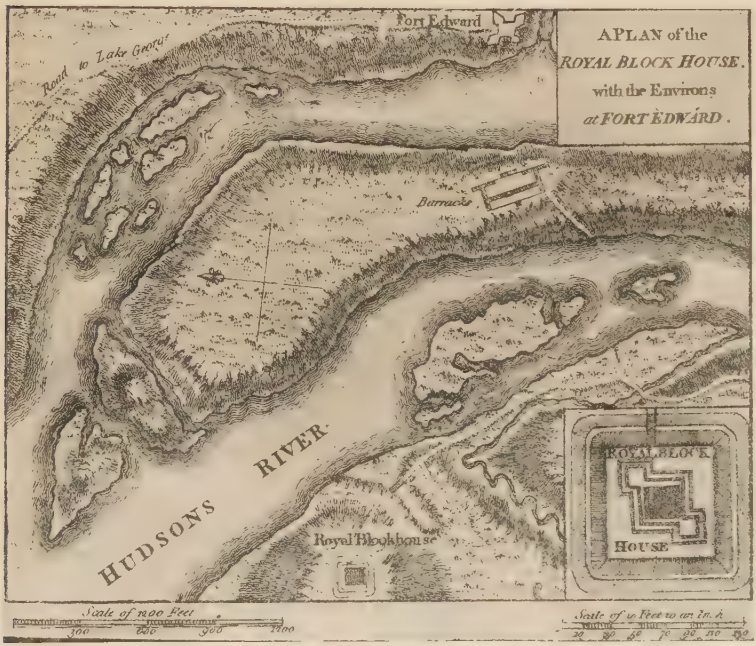
Loudoun now had nearly twelve thousand troops, while in Halifax harbor rode men-of-war carrying nearly fourteen hundred guns. But weeks were spent in drilling troops, most of whom were regulars, and in planting vegetables. At New York, Loudoun had been compared to Saint George on a tavern sign — always on horseback but never going forward; now, an English officer was put under arrest for a witticism concerning the spending of the king's money in fighting sham battles and raising cabbages. In such manner things went on until the fourth of August when captured letters made it plain that the three French fleets were in the harbor of Louisburg under the guns of the strongest fortress on the continent, and that in the fortress itself was a garrison reported at seven thousand men. Loudoun and a council of war decided that a successful attack was impossible and that their costly enterprise would have to be abandoned.

Loudoun Goes to New York

After a six weeks' stay in Nova Scotia and without seeing an enemy, the crestfallen commander sailed with his

troops back to New York. On his way, he heard disastrous news that he might have expected. For a century and a half, Loudoun and his exploit have been the butt of ridicule and wit of varying degree. Holbourne and his fleet sailed for Louisburg and challenged the French admiral to come out of his sheltered harbor and fight, an unprofitable risk that the Frenchman did not care to take. Fate proved still unkind. A fierce storm caught Holbourne's fleet off the desolate and cruel coast. Two vessels were lost with nearly all on board, several were dismasted, and others were forced to throw their cannons overboard. Fortunately for them, the French admiral did not know of their sorry plight and the crippled vessels made their way to friendly harbors as best they could. 1757 September 24-25

Lord Loudoun had left Colonel Webb with a garrison of about twenty-six hundred men at Fort Edward; Lieutenant-colonel George Monro of the Thirty-fifth Fusi- At Lake George



Plan of the Vicinity of Fort Edward

1757 leers, now the Royal Sussex regiment of England, with a small force held Fort William Henry, the most advanced post of the English. The general had taken with him to Halifax the best part of the troops that had guarded the New York frontier. When from prisoners and by dispatches from France Montcalm and Vaudreuil learned of the movements of Loudoun's army, they saw their opportunity and seized it.

At Montreal

During the preceding winter, the emissaries of Vaudreuil had been busy among the Indians and, thanks to the victories at Duquesne and Oswego, they had been well received, even by many of the Iroquois. The painted warriors had lighted the council-fires and accepted the wampum belts and, dreaming in their wigwams, the medicine-men had seen no end of scalps and English prisoners. In the spring, squadrons of canoes converged toward Montreal which, by the end of June, presented a spectacle strange and picturesque. From Acadia to Lake Superior and the Mississippi and beyond came various types of the aboriginal Americans. Never before had the representatives of so many tribes been assembled under the fleur-de-lis. In the streets, high-born dames brushed their Parisian gowns against squaws clothed in the skins of beasts and wearing beaded moccasins, while functionaries in court costume were accosted by proud Iroquois or ferocious Potawatomies with lances in their hands and English scalps at their belts.

Indian Rhetoric

The Indians were eager to gaze upon the victor of Oswego. On one occasion, three hundred Ottawas from Mackinac demanded to see the great general whose renown had brought them so far. All of them, says Montcalm's aide, Bougainville, to whose *Journal* history is under lasting obligation, were worthy the brush of an artist. On perceiving Montcalm, their chief appeared astonished. "We want to see," said he, "that famous chief who tramples the English under his feet. We thought that his head would be lost in the clouds. But you are a little man, my father. It is only when we look

into your eyes that we see the grandeur of the pines and the soaring of the eagle." 1757

In May, Bourlamaque and two battalions were sent to Ticonderoga to finish the fort and to watch the English Montcalm's Advance to Ticonderoga

M. de Bougainville

Mme. de Bougainville

at the other end of Lake George. Early in July, Montcalm's army and its Indian auxiliaries began the forward movement. Day after day, fleets of bateaux and canoes were moving up Lake Champlain, filled with Canadians, Indians, and military stores. Before the end of the month, Montcalm had in camps along the four-mile valley that extends from Lake Champlain to Lake George not fewer than eight thousand men, a force that included "the brightest civilization and the darkest barbarism" and that ranged from "courtly young officers who would have seemed out of place in that wilderness had they not done their work so well in it" to the "foulest man-eating savage of the uttermost northwest." This army included nearly two thousand Indian allies from not fewer than fifty-one tribes and sub-tribes, led by their own chiefs and by scarcely less wild Canadians, such as Saint Luc de la Corne, Marin, and Charles Langlade who again had left his squaw wife at Mackinac to

1757 fight the English. They were a motley crew, difficult to describe and impossible to control.

Langlade's Trap

While the army was encamped at this wooded valley, four hundred Indians and about fifty Canadians and soldiers under Langlade and others paddled to the cluster of small islands lying off what is now Sabbath Day Point, drew their canoes on shore, hid them among the foliage, and then lay in wait for some boats that could be seen in the far distance. These boats, twenty-three in number, contained a reconnoitering party of about three hundred men, mostly inexperienced New Jersey militia, sent out from Fort William Henry under command of Colonel Parker. In the morning, the flotilla fell into the trap. According to Bougainville's *Journal*, the English were panic-stricken and, before they could retire or arrange themselves for defense, their enemies had thrown themselves into their canoes and were among them. Terrified by the sight, the cries, and the agility of these copper-colored giants brandishing their blood-smeared lances and war-clubs, the English made little resistance. Some, in their frenzy, plunged into the lake and were followed by the "savages" who speared them like fishes and then, diving and rising under other canoes, overturned these also. Only two boats escaped. Nearly two hundred prisoners and several barrels of rum fell into the hands of the Indians. Then followed a terrible orgy of cruelty with an alleged accompaniment of cannibalism.

By Land and Water

Meanwhile, by day and night, the French and Canadians had been dragging the bateaux, cannons, ammunition, provisions, and other war material up the road to the head of the rapids down which run the waters of Lake George. As the flotilla could not carry all the

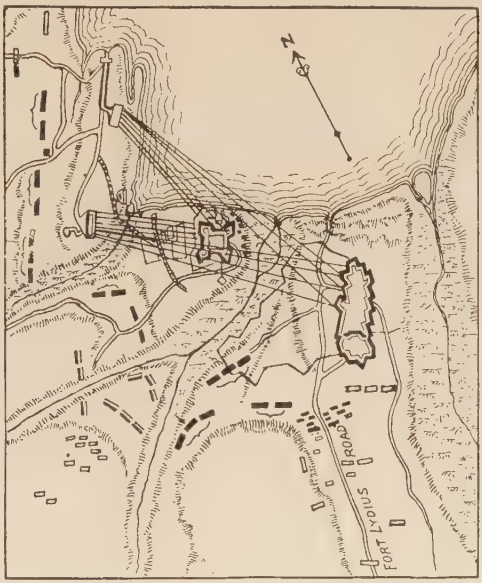
July 30

men and munitions, Lévis was sent with about twenty-nine hundred regulars, Canadians, and Indians along the rough trail through the forest that hemmed the lake on its western border. That night, the detachment camped on the site of the present village of Bolton. Leaving another detachment to hold Ticonderoga, Montcalm

embarked with the remainder of his army on the afternoon of the first of August; at two o'clock the next morning he saw Lévis's signal-fires. At ten o'clock, Lévis marched again; Montcalm followed at noon. In the evening, Montcalm found his lieutenant awaiting him on the shore of a small bay from which the English fort was hidden by a headland. The canoes and bateaux were beached and the two detachments of the army of invasion went into camp for the night. In the ensuing darkness, a reconnoitering force of English in two canoes unsuspectingly approached close to the camp and were detected by Montcalm's Indian allies. More than a thousand Indians joined in the pursuit. Some of the English escaped, some were killed, and three were captured. From the prisoners, Montcalm got important information regarding the strength and disposition of the force with which Monro was holding Fort William Henry.

1757

August 2

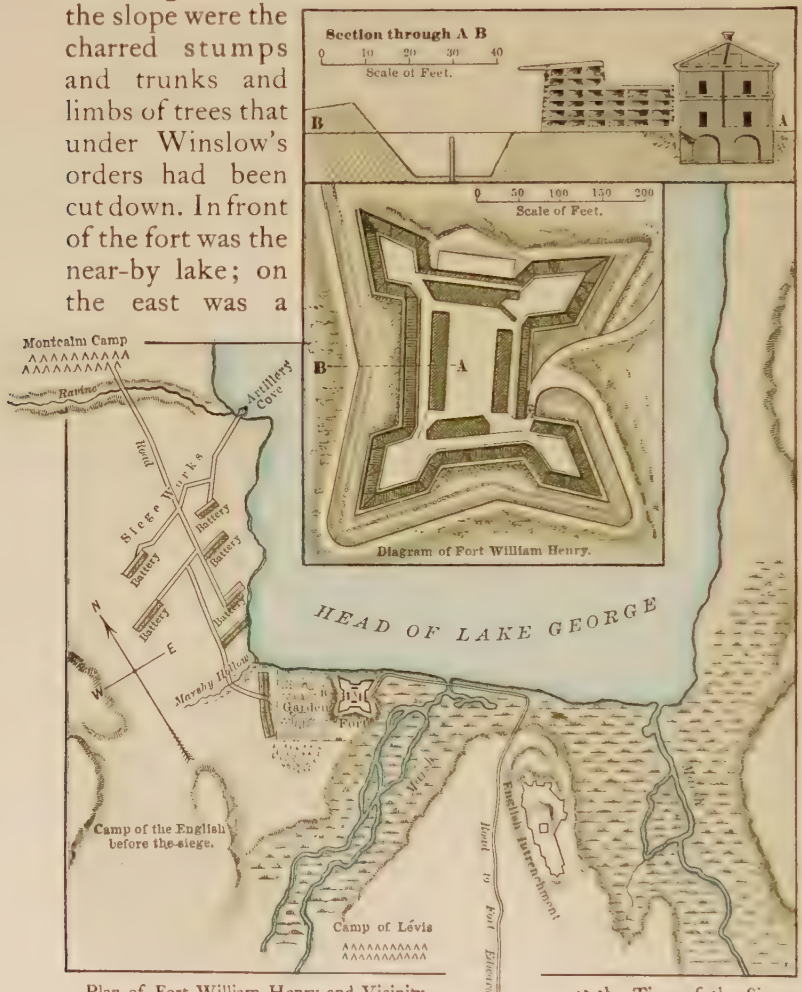


Plan of the Attack on Fort William Henry

Fort William Henry

This fort, the objective of the French attack, stood at the head of the lake, two or three miles from Montcalm's camp. In shape, it was an irregular bastioned square. Behind its ramparts of logs and earth were seventeen cannons, several mortars and swivels, and Lieutenant-colonel Monro with about five hundred men. The smallpox was raging and the casemates were crowded with the sick. On the south and west of the fort were

1757 ditches with *chevaux-de-frise*. Beyond the ditch on the west was the garden; back of the ditch on the south and far up the slope were the charred stumps and trunks and limbs of trees that under Winslow's orders had been cut down. In front of the fort was the near-by lake; on the east was a marsh; beyond the marsh was the road to Fort Edward and the rough field whence Lyman and his New England rustics had driven back Dieskau's army two years before. Still further at the east was a low hill on which the English had an intrenched camp and seven-



Plan of Fort William Henry and Vicinity at the Time of the Siege

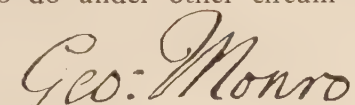
teen hundred men. On a plateau southwest of the fort stood other tents. Fourteen miles away were Fort Edward and Colonel Webb with sixteen hundred men fit for duty. 1757

Montcalm Invests the Fort

The French army moved forward early on the morning of the third of August, Lévis and his Indians leading the way through the forest, Montcalm and the main army following, the Indian canoes advancing in a line that reached across the lake from shore to shore, the artillery boats rounding the point and landing in a protected place still called Artillery Cove. Lévis and his Indians began a lively skirmish with the English who were trying to drive in their cattle from the woods and to save the tents that stood on the plateau. At the end of the skirmish, a body of Indians under La Corne held the road by which Webb might send reinforcements from Fort Edward, and Lévis set up his camp so that he might support La Corne or meet an attempted sortie from the fort. Montcalm's reconnaissance of the ground where Dieskau had been defeated convinced him that the intrenched camp was too strong to be carried by assault. He therefore established his camp back of the ravine, began to land his cannons and mortars at Artillery Cove, and sent one of his officers with a letter to Monro.

Montcalm and Monro

Montcalm wrote: "I owe it to humanity to summon you to surrender. At present I can restrain the savages and make them observe the terms of capitulation, as I might not have the power to do under other circumstances; an obstinate defense on your part could only retard the capture of the place a few days and endanger the unfortunate garrison, which, in consequence of the dispositions I have made, cannot be relieved. I demand a decisive answer within an hour." Monro replied that he and his men would defend themselves and hold the fort as long as possible.



Autograph of George Monro

Webb's Prudence

A few days before, Webb had visited Fort William Henry where Israel Putnam, who had been reconnoiter-

1757 ing with his company of rangers, notified him of Montcalm's advance and urged an attack on the French at the time of their landing. Webb declined Putnam's advice,

July 29 hastened back to Fort Edward, begged the governor of New York to hurry up the militia, announced his determination "to march to Fort William Henry with the whole army under my command as soon as I shall hear of the farther approach of the enemy," waited three days more, and then sent forward Lieutenant-colonel Young with two hundred regulars, and Colonel Frye with eight hundred Massachusetts men. These recruits were in Fort William Henry before the appearance of Montcalm and formed a part of Monro's twenty-two hundred, but Webb prudently lingered with his other sixteen hundred fourteen miles away. When Monro returned his defiant answer to Montcalm, he was hoping for additional reinforcements from Fort Edward.

Webb's Dilemma

In truth, Webb was in a sorry plight. His personal courage had been challenged for nearly a year; here was his opportunity. Loudoun had left him to face an enemy numerically his superior; the case was one that called for judgment rather than for courage. It might have been good strategy before the investment began, for Webb to order Monro to destroy Fort William Henry and fall back to Fort Edward, obstructing the road as he retreated. In view of the difficulties attendant upon land transportation, the shortness of their supplies, the eagerness of the Indians and the Canadians to return home, and the extra time that would have been given for the arrival of the New England militia, Montcalm might not have been able to take Fort Edward. But Webb had not given any such order and now all he could do was to sit on the banks of the Hudson, read the urgent appeals from Monro, and send to New England for reinforcements that could not possibly arrive in time to avert the impending calamity. By midnight of the fourth of August, he saw the hopelessness of the situation and sent a letter to Monro to the effect that he did not think it prudent to go to the front or to send assistance until he

was reinforced by the militia of the colonies and that, unless the militia came soon, Monro would better make the best terms possible with Montcalm. 1757

The Indians Impatient

On the same night of the fourth of August, the French began work on their trenches; before morning the first parallel was opened, one battery was nearly completed, and another was begun. On the fifth, most of the Indians, instead of remaining with Lévis where they belonged, swarmed about Montcalm's camp, asked impatiently when the great guns would be fired, crept into the garden about the fort, and, in imitation of the troops, dug shallow trenches to shelter themselves from the fire of the garrison. Their behavior greatly dissatisfied Montcalm and, at five o'clock that afternoon, he met them in a general council. He remonstrated with them for needlessly exposing themselves and they complained that they were treated as slaves, being ordered here and there without any previous consultation with their leaders. With rare finesse, Montcalm assured them that any such failure on his part had been due to the hurry and confusion, that he knew well their warlike talents, and that on the morrow the big guns would begin to shoot. "This news," says Montcalm's *Journal*, "scattered great joy through the assemblage, which separated very content."

The Bombardment

On the morning of the sixth, Montcalm began the bombardment of the fort with one mortar and eight heavy cannons; on the morning of the seventh, another battery opened with eleven pieces more. The English gunners replied with energy. The Indians looked on as the iron hail sent splinters flying from the wooden fort and accompanied each discharge with yells of barbarian delight while the mountains and the forests reinforced the angry roar with the echoes that they sent back across the waters of the peaceful lake.

Interchange of Courtesies

On the body of an English messenger whom they had killed, La Corne's Indians had found Webb's letter advising Monro to surrender. When the ramparts of Fort William Henry were badly battered, Montcalm forwarded the letter with a pretty compliment. Mont-

1757 calm's messenger was his friend and aide, Bougainville, whose faithfully-kept diary records that Monro "returned many thanks for the courtesy of the French and protested his joy at having to do with so generous an enemy." With smallpox and more than three hundred killed and wounded in the fort, with his large cannons and mortars disabled and only seven small ones fit for service, with more than thirty cannons and half as many mortars ready to open fire upon him, with walls already breached and an assault that he could not hope to repel overhanging, Monro still stood firm — a dauntless hero.

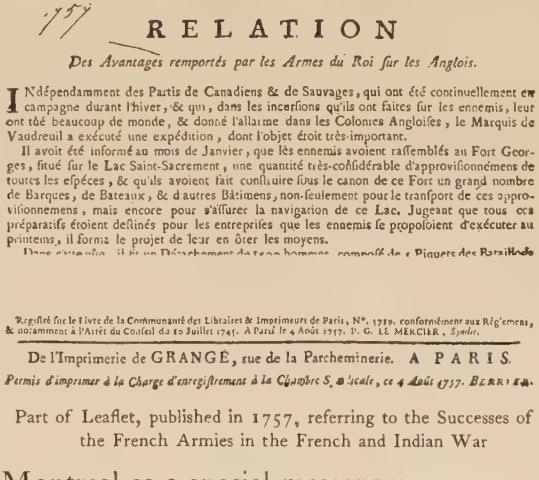
A White Flag

By persistent work, the sappers had pushed their trenches to the marshy hollow at the corner of the lake. A causeway for the cannons was built across this low ground, the trench was continued up the hill, and a battery was begun in the garden not more than two hundred and fifty yards from the fort. On the night of the eighth, the fire on both sides was brisk. On the morning of the ninth, at a council held within the fort, the English officers decided to surrender if Montcalm would grant honorable terms. There was no reason to expect aid or encouragement from Colonel Webb; their condition was deplorable, their case hopeless. Lieutenant-colonel Young was sent with a white flag to Montcalm's camp and the French general consented that, upon their surrendering the fort and agreeing not to serve again for eighteen months, the English troops should be allowed the honors of war, should be given a French escort to Fort Edward, and should be permitted to take with them one field-piece as a token of the victor's appreciation of their brave defense.

Indian Atrocities

Montcalm explained the terms of the capitulation to the chiefs of his Indian allies and secured their assent to the conditions and their promise to hold their followers to an observance of them. As soon as the garrison had marched out of the fort to join the larger number in the intrenched camp, a crowd of Indians seeking rum and plunder entered by way of the embrasures and murdered the sick men who had been left in their beds.

Reinforced by the worst of the Canadians, the plunderers advanced to the intrenched camp from which the French guard could not keep them. Thither Montcalm hastened in fear of a general massacre and put forth every effort to control the disorder. He ordered La Corne to see that there was no violence and got the Indians to promise that two chiefs for each tribe should accompany the regulars that were to escort the English to Fort Edward. By this time, it was nine o'clock in the evening; an hour later, Bougainville was on his way to Montreal as a special messenger with news of the victory. 1757



1757

RELATION

Des Avantages remportés par les Armes du Roi sur les Anglois.

INdépendamment des Partis de Canadiens & de Sauvages, qui ont été continuellement en campagne durant l'hiver, & qui, dans les incursions qu'ils ont faites sur les ennemis, leur ont tué beaucoup de monde, & donné l'allarme dans les Colonies Angloises, le Marquis de Vaudreuil a exécuté une expédition, dont l'objet étoit très-important.

Il avoit été informé au mois de Janvier, que les ennemis avoient rassemblés au Fort George, situé sur le Lac Saint-Sacrement, une quantité très-considérable d'approvisionnemens de toutes les espéces, & qu'ils avoient fait construire sous le canon de ce Fort un grand nombre de Barques, de Bateaux, & d'autres Bâtimens, non-seulement pour le transport de ces approvisionnemens, mais encore pour s'assurer la navigation de ce Lac. Jugeant que tous ces préparatifs étoient destinés pour les entreprises que les ennemis se proposoient d'exécuter au printems, il forma le projet de leur en ôter les moyens.

Dans cette vûe, il fit un Détachement de 600 hommes, composé de 6 Piquets des Bataillons

Regiſtré ſur le livre de la Communauté des Libraires & Imprimeurs de Paris, N°. 1729. conformément aux Rég'emens, & notamment à l'Arrêt du Conſeil du 10 Juillet 1745. A Paris le 4 Août 1757. P. G. LE MERCIER, *Syndic.*

De l'Imprimerie de GRANGÉ, rue de la Parcheminerie. A PARIS.

Permis d'imprimer à la Charge d'enregiſtrement à la Chambre Royale, ce 4 Août 1757. BERRYER.

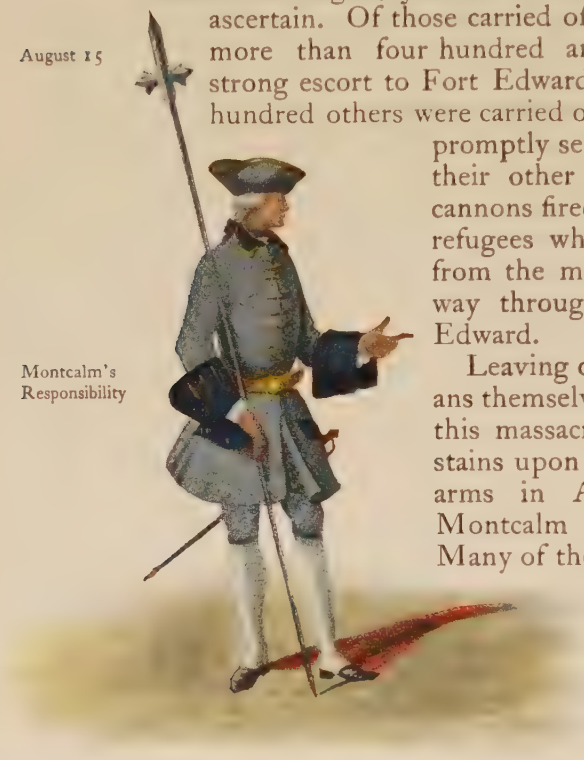
Part of Leaflet, published in 1757, referring to the Successes of the French Armies in the French and Indian War

On the morning of the tenth, the English were astir before daybreak. Before the escort of French regulars arrived, seventeen wounded men were tomahawked and scalped. Finally, the escort came, but their presence did not prevent plundering. The Indians demanded rum, and some of the prisoners who were without ammunition and afraid to refuse, met the demand by giving up their canteens. When the column at last got out of the camp, the Indians crowded close, snatched garments "and weapons from officers and men, tomahawked those that resisted, and, seizing upon shrieking women and children, dragged them off or murdered them on the spot." Montcalm, Lévis, Bourlamaque, and other French officers rushed among the Indians with promises and threats, but the Canadians were indifferent. It is certain that the French commander did all that he could to allay the frenzy, but the fire with which he had played was beyond his control. The march became a wild, disorderly rout. In addition to the sick and wounded who were killed in the fort and

More Indian Atrocities

1757 in the camp, forty or fifty or more were killed after the march was begun, just how many it is impossible to ascertain. Of those carried off, Montcalm recovered more than four hundred and sent them with a strong escort to Fort Edward. It is said that two hundred others were carried off by the Indians who promptly set out for Montreal with their other plunder. Guided by cannons fired at intervals, half-dead refugees who had been separated from the main body worked their way through the woods to Fort Edward.

August 15



Uniform of a French Soldier, 1755

Montcalm's Responsibility

Leaving out of account the Indians themselves, the chief blame for this massacre, one of the deepest stains upon the annals of French arms in America, lies between Montcalm and the Canadians. Many of the latter, little less bloodthirsty and vindictive than the Indians themselves, made no effort to restrain their allies and even encouraged them to violence. Montcalm's responsibility is of another kind. Knowing the Indians as he did, he should have furnished the English with protection that was more nearly adequate. When the massacre began, he should, if necessary, have ordered up the French regulars and defended, by force of arms, the prisoners whom in honor he was bound to protect.

The Penalty Paid

The massacre brought its own punishment to the guilty. The English government insisted that the terms of capitulation had been broken and refused to observe the paroles that had been given by the garrison. The memory of that woeful day nerved many an English arm and drove many a bayonet home. It is said that when

a Canadian was captured by New England rangers, his first impulse was "to protest by voice and gesture that he had not been present at that accursed scene" and that, in many such cases, protest and appeal for life were made in vain. The Indians had murdered the sick and dying and had even despoiled the grave to scalp the dead. They carried back to their forest homes the germs of a disease that in months to come brought suffering and loathsome death to the inmates of many a wigwam in regions far remote from beautiful Lake George. 1757 Smallpox

After the departure of the English, the French destroyed Fort William Henry. The casemates were filled up or torn open, the barracks and the magazines were demolished, the ramparts were thrown down. The bodies of the English dead were added to the heap; the vast funeral pile was then set on fire; for several Fort William Henry Destroyed

> . . . long nights, through all the dusky air,
> The pyre thick flaming shot a dismal glare.

By the evening of the sixteenth, the last boats of the victorious army had quit the strand, leaving behind the smoking embers, all that remained of Fort William Henry. "The din of ten thousand combatants, the rage, the terror, the agony were gone."

When, on his way back from Halifax, Lord Loudoun heard that the fort had been taken and the capitulation broken, he sent to Webb at Fort Edward orders to hold the French in check without risking a battle, and word that "I am on the way with a force sufficient to turn the scale, with God's assistance. . . . The murders committed at Oswego and now at Fort William Henry will oblige me to make those gentlemen sick of such inhuman villainy whenever it is in my power." Loudoun arrived at New York on the last day of August and sent his troops up the Hudson, but he did not attack Ticonderoga or do anything that resembled a serious attempt to make good his boasts. Loudoun's Heroics

The fall of Fort William Henry was followed by exaggerated rumors of disasters and atrocities. It is said that Webb was so badly frightened that he was Fort Edward Reinforced

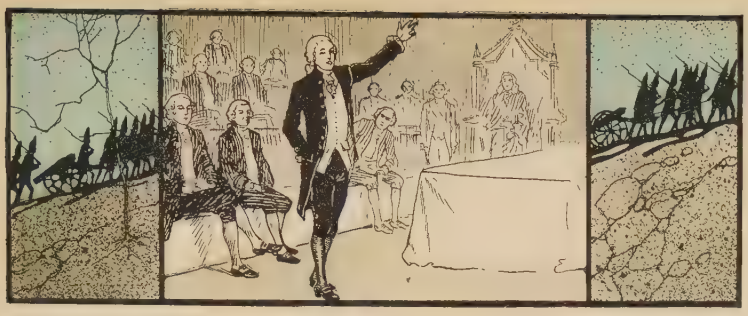
1757 anxious to retreat and it is possible that, if Montcalm had marched promptly to Fort Edward, he might have won two victories instead of one. Johnson had joined

August 6 Webb with a band of Mohawks and, on the same day, had come Lord Howe, whose regiment had arrived at

July 9 Halifax from England a few weeks before. "Lord Howe was a fine officer and possibly was sent to brace up Webb;" we shall hear more of him. When it was too late, "tumultuous mobs of militia" came pouring in from the neighboring provinces; they became mutinous and were soon ordered back to their homes.

Darkness Before Dawn

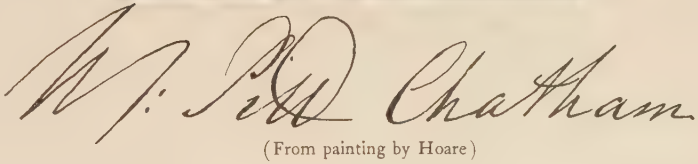
Loudoun's grand campaign had come to its end in gloom and disappointment. The French had been driven from Acadia, but they were at Louisburg guarding the entrance to the Saint Lawrence, at Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain, at Frontenac and Niagara on Lake Ontario, at Presque Isle on Lake Erie, and in the forts that formed a chain thence to the head of the Ohio. The western tribes of the Iroquois were "neutral" and some of their warriors were fighting with the French. Scalping parties from other Indian nations were devastating the English frontier and making incursions into the English provinces. In the mother country, Lord Chesterfield exclaimed: "Whoever is in or whoever is out, I am sure we are undone both at home and abroad." It was the darkest period of the war, the darkness that goes before light. Evils had been piled so high and bad had become so much worse that the condition could not continue. At such a crisis, the man for the hour sometimes appears. This time it was William Pitt.



CHAPTER VIII

PITT PLANS THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758

The Great Commoner



(From painting by Hoare)

IF, in an audience of educated men, one was to ask for the name of the most successful statesman and most brilliant orator that England has produced, one name would be heard in chorus, William Pitt. A younger son, Pitt was poor enough, but, as if poverty was not sufficient affliction, he was from his schooldays cruelly tormented with the gout, a malady that clung to him to the end of life. When he entered parliament in 1735, Sir Robert Walpole had been for fourteen years at the head of the govern-

1735–1754

ment and was strong in the support of the Whig party which had the exclusive confidence of the king. But Pitt joined the forming opposition, was soon recognized as a great orator, and gradually built up the power that for nearly thirty years he exercised over the house of commons. His invective and sarcasm were so tremendous that no other English orator was ever so much feared. In the long and fierce contest that drove Walpole from office and left him in the house of lords as the earl of Orford, Pitt was one of the most implacable of all who called for vengeance on the fallen minister.

February, 1742

Pitt in Office

The old duchess of Marlborough hated Walpole. She died in 1744 and, in consideration of "the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England and to prevent the ruin of his country," left to Pitt a legacy of ten thousand pounds. Within a month, Pitt turned courtier and sought for office. The Pelhams, Sir Henry and his less able brother, the duke of Newcastle, had just come into power. Recognizing Pitt's genius, they agreed to break down the king's prejudice against him and ultimately secured his appointment as vice-treasurer of Ireland. In a few months, Pitt was promoted to the place of paymaster of the forces, one of the most lucrative offices in the government. He refused to appropriate to his own use the interest on the large sums constantly in his hands or to accept the customary subsidies paid by the foreign princes who received the pay of England. In those days it was accepted doctrine that every patriot has his price and that the state is the proper prey of statesmen. Pitt's disinterestedness amused the politicians but it won the people. He had learned that the confidence of the public is worth having. Macaulay speaks in eulogy of "the magnanimity, the dauntless courage, the contempt for riches and bawbles to which, more than to any intellectual quality, Pitt owed his long ascendency."

Pitt in Opposition

When the duke of Newcastle, whose profound unfitness for his high office has been recorded in these pages, became prime minister and, unable to come to terms with

Fox and unwilling to engage Pitt, passed over both and selected Sir Thomas Robinson as his leader in the house of commons, Pitt exclaimed: "He lead us! the duke might as well send his jack-boot to lead us." It was too much to endure and the two disappointed statesmen, although retaining secondary offices, entered into combination to discredit both Robinson and the administration. The duke was afraid to dismiss the mutineers, but it was necessary to do something. Fox was given Robinson's position and Pitt's opposition became still more bitter. 1754 1756

Pitt's Popularity

When parliament met in November, 1755, Newcastle wished to gratify the king by subsidizing Russia and several petty German princes to protect Hanover. The treaties were unpopular; Pitt attacked them with great vehemence and was dismissed from office. He continued his opposition, things went wrong in all parts of the world, the nation was angry, sullen, and despondent as it had never been before. In October, 1756, Fox threw up his office and was soon followed by Newcastle. Then the duke of Devonshire formed a ministry in which Pitt, despite the undisguised disfavor of the king, became secretary of state with the lead in the house of commons. The people were strongly in favor of the new ministry, but both houses were controlled by the Whig aristocracy which still looked to Newcastle. The king was bitterly hostile to Pitt and to his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, the head of the admiralty; after tolerating them

William Pitt
(From painting by Brompton)

1757 April

for not quite five months, he dismissed them from office; with their downfall, the whole ministry was dissolved. By this time, the "Great Commoner" was almost idolized by the people. When he was called to power, the public discontent had soon subsided; when he was turned out, the admiration and anger of the people broke into a flame. London voted him the freedom of the city and all the larger towns followed the example. "For some weeks," says Horace Walpole, "it rained gold boxes." Without rank or fortune, hated by the king and the aristocracy, Pitt was now a person of the first importance in the kingdom.

Pitt's Power

For eleven weeks, with parliament sitting and war raging, England was without a ministry. But both Newcastle and Pitt had profited by recent experience. They began to realize that they were necessary to each other and to think of reconciliation. Newcastle needed public confidence and Pitt's genius and eloquence, while Pitt needed the favor of the court and the powerful borough influence of the Whig aristocracy. At last, the king smothered his bitterness in necessity. Newcastle took the treasury with the power of dispensing honors, positions, and bribes; Pitt again became secretary of state with the lead in the house of commons and the supreme direction of war and foreign affairs. Parkman calls it "a partnership of magpie and eagle." Fox was silenced with the revenues of the office of paymaster. All at once, out of chaos, arose "a government as strong at home as that of Pelham, as successful abroad as that of Godolphin." For the next four years, the most glorious in English military history, the great commoner was the real ruler of England.

Pitt's Characteristics

Pitt brought to his task a fiery earnestness and an absolute confidence in his own abilities. "My lord," he had said to the duke of Devonshire, "I am sure that I can save this country and that no one else can." Though inconsistent, theatrical, and vain to the last degree, he was resolute in the pursuit of his great objects, power and glory, England's and his own. Quick to see

his way, he was persevering and bold in following that way. Discovering an advantage at a glance, he clung to that advantage with a grasp that nothing could break. To these qualities he added a genius that leaped over or broke down the barriers raised by smaller men and that enabled him to pursue his course in disregard of the "pull" of social or political power, the blandishments of the court, popular applause, or public indignation. Enthusiastic and zealous himself, he possessed to a remarkable degree the ability to impart enthusiasm and zeal to others; "no man," said Colonel Barré, "ever entered his closet who did not come out a braver man." With all his great qualities, however, he was a man with whom his colleagues and subordinates found it difficult to work. His extraordinary abilities threw all others into the shade; it would have been better for him had he not so often made it necessary for them to acknowledge as well as to feel their inferiority. Such was the fiery genius who was to humble France and conquer Canada. Of him, his great ally, Frederick of Prussia, said: "England has long been in labor, and, at last, she has brought forth a man." 1757

A Gloomy Outlook

It was some time before Pitt was able to overcome the "heritage of tribulation left by his predecessors." One of his earliest military enterprises, the expedition against Rochefort, miscarried through the timidity and irresolution of the military commanders. In India, Clive had just won the decisive battle of Plassey, but the victory was not known in England for many months. Meanwhile, the news that came from America was unfavorable and on the continent all seemed dark. Before the end of March, two French armies aggregating one hundred thousand men had taken the field and marched rapidly on Hanover. The defense of the electorate was in the hands of the duke of Cumberland who commanded a mixed army, mainly mercenaries. On the twenty-sixth of July, the duke was defeated, Hanover was speedily overrun and, in September, Cumberland accepted the convention of Closter-Zeven, by which Hanover was

September

June 23

1757 left in possession of the French who were now free to turn their arms against the king of Prussia. Frederick was ill prepared to meet the new danger. On the sixth of May, he had defeated the Austrians under Marshal Browne in the bloody battle of Prague. Leaving part of his forces to blockade the defeated army, he had then, with inferior numbers, marched against a second Austrian army under Marshal Daun who occupied an almost impregnable position at Kolin. After desperate efforts to dislodge the enemy, the shattered Prussian army could no longer be led to the attack. Frederick was forced to raise the siege of Prague and hastily to evacuate Bohemia. The Russians in overwhelming numbers invaded East Prussia, took Memel, and defeated the Prussian general Lehwald at Grossjägerndorf. The Swedes entered Pomerania; the Austrians overran much of Silesia; Berlin was laid under contribution; from every side enemies swarmed into Frederick's dominions.

Frederick's Sorry Plight

June 18

August 30

But just when all seemed lost, there came a change. The Russians did not follow up their victory, but withdrew to their own dominions and thus gave Lehwald an opportunity to check the Swedes. Frederick himself marched against the French and Imperialists under Soubise. His own army numbered not more than twenty-five thousand, that of the enemy almost sixty thousand, but by the superior discipline of his troops and his own generalship he won with trifling loss a complete victory at Rossbach. Freed temporarily from danger in the west, he turned his face toward Silesia where the situation appeared hopeless. Schweidnitz had fallen with a garrison of nearly six thousand men; General Bevern was defeated at Breslau; Prince Charles of Lorraine with a vast host bestrode the province. The Austrians were nearly three to one, but Frederick resolved to stake all upon a single battle. Calling the officers of his little army about him, he announced his determination. He was, he said, about to attack a far superior enemy in a position of great natural strength; such a course was contrary to all the rules of war and he would excuse any who

The Turning of the Tide

November 5

felt reluctant to follow. With loud protests, all disavowed any desire to take advantage of his offer. Changing his tone, the king then announced that any regiment that wavered before the enemy would lose its colors and be disgraced before the army; they would beat the Austrians or never meet again. The army was aroused to an intense enthusiasm. Frederick's plan of battle was a masterpiece; Napoleon said that it alone would entitle him to a place in the front rank of the world's greatest generals. The enemy were utterly routed at Leuthen. Frederick followed up the victory with great energy and Prince Charles escaped to Bohemia with scarce thirty thousand dispirited and worn-out troops. Meanwhile, the English had repudiated the convention of Closter-Zeven, taken steps to put a more efficient army in the field, and given the command to Ferdinand of Brunswick. Throwing aside his old prejudices against subsidies, Pitt adopted a policy of conquering "America in Germany" and agreed to pay Frederick an annual grant of about seven hundred thousand pounds. For the time being Prussia was safe.

1757 — A Military Masterpiece — December 5 — April, 1758

While these great events were taking place in Germany, Pitt was adopting measures that were to put a new face upon the situation in America. He ended the discrimination against provincial officers below the rank of brigadier and invited New England, New York, and New Jersey to raise at least twenty thousand men for an expedition against Canada, and Pennsylvania and the southern colonies to raise as many as they could for the conquest of the West. He promised that England would supply arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions and that he would recommend parliament to reimburse the colonies for the clothing and pay of the men. Equal consideration and fair treatment developed colonial enthusiasm. With a chance for honors as well as hardships, American soldiers and sailors responded to Pitt's appeal with unwonted alacrity. In one year of the war, the Massachusetts tax on personal estate was thirteen shillings and fourpence on the pound of income; on an

Pitt's American Policy

1757 income of two hundred pounds from real estate it was seventy-two pounds; to these were added various excises and a poll-tax of nineteen shillings on each male person more than sixteen years of age. In Connecticut the burden was as heavy.

Pitt's American Plan

Pitt's plan of campaign in America was much like Shirley's scheme of conquest. It contemplated three expeditions: Louisburg was to be taken as the prelude to the capture of Quebec; the French posts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point were to be removed from the way to Montreal; and a new expedition was to be sent against Fort Duquesne. Lord Loudoun was recalled. Jeffrey Amherst, "a stubborn colonel who had shown his metal in Germany," was made a major-general and sent to attack the great island stronghold. Under Amherst was Brigadier-general James Wolfe, a young officer, eighteen of whose thirty-one years had been spent in the army. Early in the season, Admiral Boscawen with his fleet set sail for Halifax, and Amherst, in the ship "Dublin," followed. Something, perhaps mistaken judgment, led to the retention of Abercromby as chief of the Crown Point campaign. Second in command under Abercromby was Viscount George Augustus Howe, the oldest of three brothers, a newly-made brigadier who was admired by his officers and idolized by his men. The command of the expedition against Fort Duquesne was given to Brigadier-general John Forbes, a Scotch physician who had abandoned medicine for military glory.

Autograph of James Abercromby

Sea Power

Active measures were also taken to prevent the French from sending reinforcements and supplies to Canada. A fleet fitted out at Toulon was prevented by the vigilance of a superior English squadron under Admiral Osborn from leaving the Mediterranean. Another fleet of about forty transports, five ships of the line, and several frigates

April 4, 1758

that had been assembled at Rochefort was attacked by Admiral Hawke off Isle D'Aix. Most of the French

vessels were run upon the beach and many of them were floated off only after their cargoes and guns had been thrown overboard. Of all the vessels fitted out this year for the destitute and hard-pressed colony, few arrived at their destination. Sea power, the decisive factor in many great conflicts, was beginning to turn the scale in this. 1758

CHAPTER IX

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758—THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG

The "Impregnable" Fortress

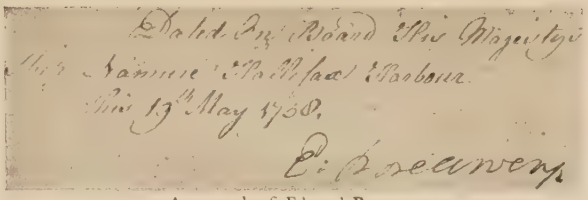
AFTER Louisburg had been restored to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, great sums were furnished by the French government for repairing and strengthening it. But much of the money was embezzled and the fortress, though the strongest in French or British North America, had decided weaknesses. The original plan had not been carried out; the circumference of the walls was so great that an enormous garrison was required to man them; there was high ground outside the walls and not far away; and the mortar used was so poor that the masonry crumbled under the action of frost and rain.

Its Garrison

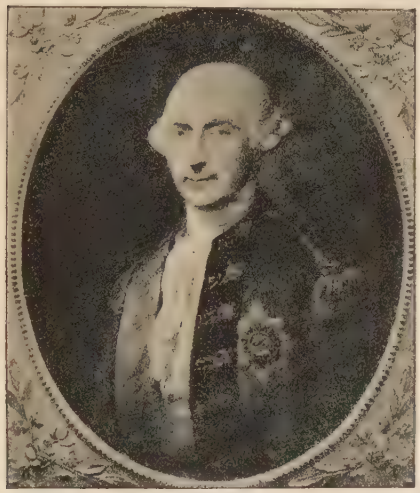
In the spring of 1758, the commandant of the fortress was the Chevalier de Drucour, a brave officer whose patience had been sadly worn by the difficulties and vexations of the four years that he had spent there. The garrison consisted of four battalions of French regulars, twenty companies of Canadians, and two companies of artillery, aggregating about thirty-eight hundred men, of whom about twenty-nine hundred were able to bear arms. In addition to these were a body of armed inhabitants and a band of Indians, while in the harbor lay a fleet of five ships of the line and seven frigates carrying five hundred and forty-four guns, and about three thousand men. The fortress mounted two hundred and nineteen cannons and seventeen mortars and there were

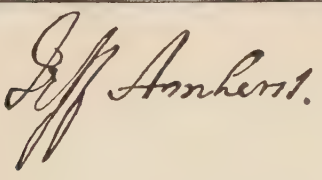
twoscore cannons in reserve. The presence of the four thousand inhabitants, mostly fishermen, was a hindrance rather than a help to the defenders. 1758

In the spring, ships were seen off the fortress, usually appearing as mere specks upon the horizon but occasionally coming closer to reconnoiter. These vessels were the forerunners of a great armament. Late in May, Admiral Boscawen's fleet sailed from Halifax; on the second of June, it anchored in Gabarus Bay. It consisted of more than twoscore warships and more than a hundred transports; on board were Sir Jeffrey Amherst and about twelve thousand troops. The sea was very rough, but in the afternoon, Amherst, Lawrence, Wolfe, and a number of naval officers embarked in small boats and examined the rocky coast on both sides of the fortress to find a landing-place. A succession of fogs and high winds followed and the attempt to put the troops ashore was delayed. Meanwhile the warships blockaded the harbor and exchanged occasional shots with the French batteries. The English Fleet



Autograph of Edward Boscawen



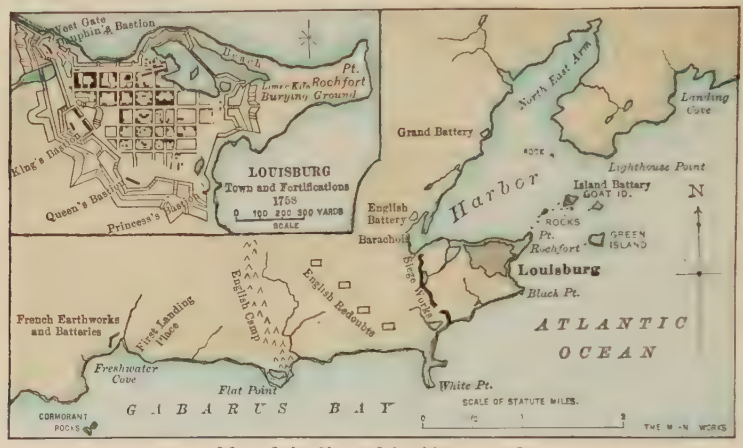


June 2

On the night of the seventh, the sea was less rough

1758 Ready to Land

and orders were issued for the landing. A detached regiment was to threaten Lorambec, an inlet east of the town; one division under Whitmore was to make a feint at White Point; a second under Lawrence was to carry out a similar manœuver at Flat Point; Wolfe with four



Map of the Siege of Louisburg, 1758

companies of grenadiers, the light infantry, and the New England rangers, and supported by Fraser's Highlanders and eight more companies of grenadiers, was to make the actual attempt at Freshwater Cove, the place where Pepperrell's men had landed in 1745. At two o'clock in the morning of the eighth, the troops were embarked in the boats and, at daybreak, frigates from the squadron stationed themselves before the four points of real or pretended attack and began a heavy cannonade.

The Landing

The French had made careful preparation to oppose a landing and particularly at the place selected by the English for their attempt. Above the beach, which was crescent-shaped and about a quarter of a mile long with rocks at either end, a thousand Frenchmen and a few Micmac Indians lay concealed behind intrenchments, while eight masked cannons and swivels commanded the shore. When Wolfe and his detachment, their boats rising and falling on the great Atlantic rollers, came within close range, such a heavy and well-sustained fire of grape,

round-shot, and musket-balls was opened upon them that the young commander, seeing the impossibility of making a successful landing upon the beach, waved his hat as a signal to retire. But two lieutenants and an ensign, who commanded three boatloads of infantry at the right of the flotilla, either misunderstood the signal or purposely disregarded it and made for a point on the shore a few rods east of the beach. This place was covered with boulders and swept by breakers, but it was sheltered from the fire of the artillery by a projecting point of rocks. Here the three officers managed to get ashore and were quickly followed by their men. Wolfe at once saw the unexpected possibilities and hastened to support the new movement. Several of the boats were crushed or overturned, some of the soldiers were drowned, but most of them got ashore. Among those in the lead was Wolfe himself, armed only with a cane. Half of the first party to surmount the crags were shot down, but others quickly came up and the nearest battery was carried at the point of the bayonet. While the attention of the French was distracted by this attack, Lawrence's division landed with little opposition at the other end of the beach. Attacked on the right and on the left and in danger of being cut off from the town, the defenders made but a feeble resistance, abandoned their cannons, and took to the woods. About fifty were killed and seventy captured; the others fled to Louisburg and the detachments at Flat Point and White Point followed their example. 1758

Wolfe at Work

Amherst landed the rest of his army as rapidly as possible and traced the lines of a camp in the shallow valley of a stream that emptied into the cove just east of Flat Point. The camp was out of range of the French guns and the greater part of it was invisible from the fortress. Bad weather delayed his bringing ashore the tents, stores, and lighter guns and not until the seventeenth was he able to land his siege-guns. In the meantime, the French had abandoned the grand battery opposite the entrance to the harbor. Amherst's next

1758 move was to send Wolfe with twelve hundred men on a march of seven or eight miles around the harbor to take possession of the battery at Lighthouse Point which had been evacuated by the French; the necessary artillery was sent thither by water. Wolfe acted with characteristic skill and rapidity. He established new batteries at Lighthouse Point and along the shore, and, on the night of the nineteenth, opened fire on the French fleet and on the Goat Island battery that guarded the entrance to the harbor. By the twenty-sixth, he had silenced the island battery. Fearing that Boscawen's fleet would sail into the land-locked harbor, destroy the French ships there, and cannonade the fortress on its weakest side,

June 28 Drucour, one dark and foggy night, had four of the large ships sunk in the channel. He subsequently had two more sunk and then felt sure that the harbor and the rest of the ships were safe. Wolfe, greatly pleased that the fleet of the enemy was "in a confounded scrape" and having done the work for which he had been sent, hurried back to the main lines which were to be the chief scene of action.

Amherst Begins the Siege

Meanwhile the English had built a road across the marsh to a hillock not more than half a mile from the fortress—"the labor was prodigious." On the twenty-fifth of June and in spite of the shower of bombs sent from the town, they occupied and fortified the hillock. On the west side of the harbor was a lagoon known as the *Barachois*. Near the Barachois lay the French frigate "Aréthuse" commanded by a brave officer named Vauquelin. The frigate was exposed to the fire of the guns that Amherst was pushing forward and in turn could sweep with her fire the space between the fortress and the siege-works of the English. From the hillock, Amherst pushed his trenches toward the Barachois, the "Aréthuse" striving gallantly to hinder or prevent the work. On the side toward the sea, Wolfe and a detachment threw up a redoubt and opened an intrenchment. When, early in July, the French made a sortie near the Barachois, they were repulsed and Wolfe seized the oppor-

tunity to secure a more advanced position. On the night of the ninth, six hundred made another sortie from the town to attack the unfinished works of the English; French troops and English grenadiers fought desperately, man to man, sword and bayonet. The grenadiers were forced back to the second line of works and then stubbornly refused to be driven further. In the end, the French were repulsed; the loss on both sides was severe. 1758

Closer and closer came the English lines; more and more destructive grew the English fire. With one exception, the French frigates were huddled close to shore under the shelter of the fortress. When the English first landed, the French naval commanders would have tried to save their ships by abandoning the harbor. Drucour insisted on their staying to aid in the defense; they had remained and they had declined to engage at short range Wolfe's batteries on Lighthouse Point. When one of the frigates was sent under cover of a fog to Quebec for aid, she was chased and captured by the English. Even the "Aréthuse" was withdrawn from her position at the Barachois and "the shot holes in her sides were plugged up" that she might be sent to France with a report of Drucour's situation. In spite of the obstructions planted by the French, she slipped out of Louisburg harbor, one dark night about the middle of July, eluded the English fleet in a fog, and made good her escape. This left only five vessels afloat in the harbor and, of their officers and crews, two thousand were in the town.

The French Frigates

A French Frigate

The harshness of the siege was relieved somewhat by

1758 Pineapples and Champagne

an occasional exchange of courtesies between those without and those within the ramparts. Thus, Drucour sent his compliments to Amherst and tendered the services of a very skilful French surgeon; and Amherst sent in letters and messages for the parents and friends of French officers who had been captured, returned Drucour's compliments, and joined with them others for Madame Drucour to whom he also sent a present of some pineapples from the West Indies. Not to be outdone, the lady who, in order to encourage the garrison, had each day fired three cannons with her own hands, thanked him for his politeness and sent out a basket of champagne.

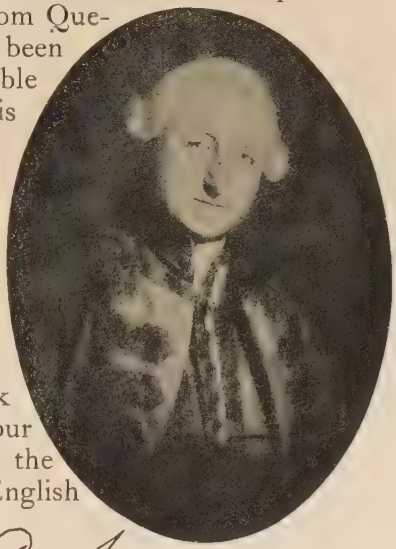
Burrowing and Burning

But these amenities did not hinder the progress of the siege. Early in the evening of the sixteenth of July, a detachment led by Wolfe wrested Gallows Hill from a party of French volunteers and began an intrenchment only three hundred yards from the Dauphin's Bastion. By the twenty-first, another parallel had been opened within two hundred yards of the rampart. On the night of that day, a bomb fell on the ship "Célèbre" and set her on fire. Her magazine exploded and the flames were communicated to the "Entreprenant" and the "Capricieux." The English turned all their available batteries upon the vessels and the three burned to the water's edge. On the following morning, a bomb dropped through the roof of the citadel back of the King's Bastion and set the place on fire. On the night of the twenty-third, the barracks in the Queen's Bastion were burned and, on the early morning of the twenty-sixth, five or six hundred English sailors rowed into the harbor, surprised and captured the two remaining French vessels, one of which they towed to a place of safety and the other of which they burned. One of this party was a petty officer named James Cook, later known as Captain Cook and world-renowned as an explorer. Meanwhile, the English sappers were busily burrowing forward with their picks and spades. Every day, Amherst got more guns into position and every day the English fire grew hotter.

View of Louisburg during the Siege of 1758
(From original in the New York Public Library)

By this time, the condition of those inside the fortress was deplorable. The English fire was unceasing, every house in the town had been struck, the last gun of the defenders had been silenced, the rampart was breached in several places, hundreds had been killed, a third of the survivors were sick or wounded and the other two-thirds were exhausted with incessant toil and lack of sleep. There had been hope of succor from Quebec and a considerable force had been sent, but the young and incapable commander had frittered away his time and accomplished little more than nothing. Now, hope of relief was dead. Amherst was getting ready to make an assault upon the fortress, and Boscawen to force an entry for his fleet into the harbor, when, on the twenty-sixth of July, a council of war decided unanimously to ask for terms of surrender. Drucour was anxious to hold out until the season was so far gone that the English would be unable to advance against Quebec, but even he approved the recommendation of the council.

1758 Within the Walls



E. Boscawen

To the French overtures, Amherst answered that the garrison must give themselves up as prisoners of war and that unless a favorable reply was received within an hour an assault would follow. The French council sought less rigorous terms and the English general refused to receive the messenger. Then Amherst and Boscawen sent a joint note informing Drucour that the conditions previously offered would not be changed "and you will have the goodness to give your answer, yes or no, within half an hour." To this stern missive, Drucour sent an answer of defiance; he refused the terms and would abide the issue. Just then, Intendant Prévost presented a memo-

Capitulation

1758 rial in behalf of the citizens who were fearful that if an assault took place the English would wreak revenge for the massacre at Fort William Henry. Drucour gave way; another officer was sent to overtake the bearer of the defiant letter and to bring the missive back. Articles of capitulation were then agreed upon and signed.

The Surrender

The ceremony of surrender took place on the following day. At eight o'clock in the morning, the Dauphin's Gate was delivered to a party of grenadiers. About noon, red lines of English soldiers, with music at their head, filed in across the drawbridge and drew up about the King's Bastion. Salvos of artillery from the fleet and camp saluted the cross of Saint George as it rose above the ramparts. The garrison, their worn uniforms grimy with dust and stained with powder and blood, were drawn up on the esplanade; there they laid down their weapons; then they marched away. Thus, for the second and last time, Louisburg became a possession of the English crown.

"Louisburg Taken" Medal

Noisy Rapture

It was the first considerable success that the English had won since the war began, but it made up for much that had gone before. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven combatants, two hundred and thirty-nine cannons and mortars, and vast quantities of arms, munitions, and military stores fell into the hands of the conquerors. The captured soldiers and sailors were sent to England as prisoners of war and were soon exchanged; the inhabitants of the town were transported to France. The brilliancy of the attack and the gallantry of Wolfe were in inspiring contrast with the inglorious circumspection of Lord Loudoun and Colonel Webb, and New England was roused to enthusiasm and pious thanksgiving. In old England also there was

"noisy rapture." The good news reached London on the eighteenth of August and, on the sixth of September, "the colours that were taken at Louisburg were carried in procession to Saint Paul's; the mob was immense." On both sides of the Atlantic it was seen that the outer gate of Quebec had been forced open. 1758

Admiral Boscawen Medal

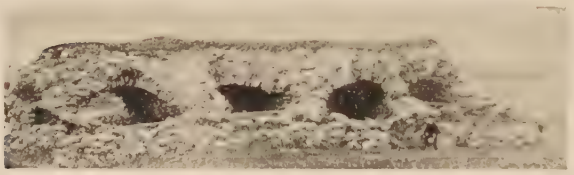
As governor of Louisburg, Brigadier-general Whitmore was given four regiments "to hold guard over the desolation they had made." Colonel Monckton was sent to the Bay of Fundy and the River Saint John "to destroy the vermin who were settled there," and Wolfe was given the duty of laying waste the Gaspé coast. "Impetuous and impatient by nature and irritable with disease," Wolfe had hoped that the English fleet and army would sail up the Saint Lawrence to attack Quebec, a hope that was frustrated by the news from Abercromby and the hesitancy of Boscawen. When Amherst, in answer to an inquiry on this subject, informed him that "I have proposed it to the Admiral and yesterday he seemed to think it impracticable," Wolfe wrote to his superior: "If the Admiral will not carry us to Quebec, reinforcements should certainly be sent inland to the continent without losing a moment's time. . . . If Lawrence has any objection to going, I am ready to embark with four or five battalions and will hasten to the assistance of our countrymen. . . . This damn'd French garrison take up our time and attention which might be better bestowed." Wolfe's Zeal August 8

To such a man, the task of destroying the settlements at the mouth of the great river and of dispersing the inhabitants there was detestable. To his father he wrote: Wolfe's "Great Exploit"

1758 "Sir Charles Hardy and I are preparing to rob the fishermen of their nets and to burn their huts. When that great exploit is at an end I return to Louisburg." Although he did not like his part, he played it with soldierly obedience and characteristic thoroughness. He destroyed much property but "he would not suffer the least barbarity to be committed upon the persons of the wretched inhabitants." Even Vaudreuil commended his treatment of the prisoners that he made. In reporting to Amherst the execution of the order, Wolfe said: "We have done a great deal of mischief—spread the terror of His Majesty's arms through the whole Gulf, but have added nothing to the reputation of them." He soon sailed for England where he received the compliments of Pitt and the applause of the people. His health, weak at the best, was more than ever shattered; he was given three months for recruiting it before reëmbarking for the campaign that was to bring him death and immortality.

Crumbled Casemates

In 1760, orders were issued to destroy the fortress and harbor of Louisburg and to transfer the garrison and stores to Halifax. For months, hundreds of men labored at the work and, for generations afterward, the place was used as a stone-quarry. Green mounds and embankments of earth, crumbled casemates that serve as shelter for sheep and cows, a few ruins and a few fishermen, are all that remain today of what was once "the Dunkirk of America."



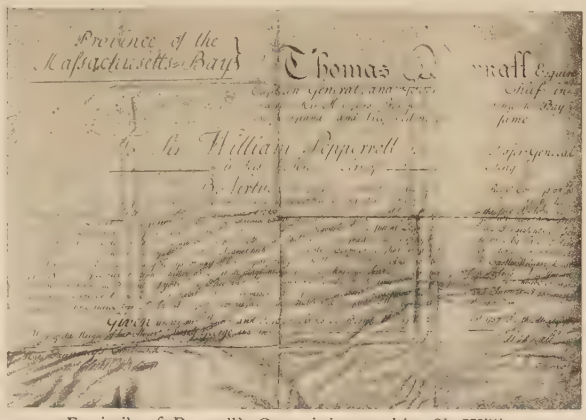
Ruins of Louisburg Casemates

P. P. C.

As we take our final leave of Louisburg, it is proper to make a farewell call upon Sir William Pepperrell. Soon after his return from Louisburg in 1746, he retired from business, the richest man in the colonies. At his home in Kittery, Maine, he lived in baronial style and entertained with lavish hospitality. He kept a coach-and-six and his river barge was manned by blacks in showy

livery. He wore a powdered wig and his coat of scarlet cloth was richly trimmed with gold lace. To the needy he was generous and to the Congregational church of which he was a devout member he was liberal. In 1749, he visited London and was graciously received by George II. After his return, he was often engaged in negotiations with the Indians. In 1755, he was commissioned major-general and given command of the forces that were charged with the protection of the frontier of Maine and New Hampshire. In 1757, he was commissioned lieutenant-general and, in 1759, he died, aged sixty-three.

1758



Facsimile of Pownall's Commission, making Sir William Pepperrell a Lieutenant-general

CHAPTER X

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758—TICONDEROGA AND FORT FRONTENAC

A Canadian Menu

DESPITE the victories of the preceding summer, the winter of 1757-1758 was a trying one at Quebec and Montreal. Food was scarce and, early in the winter, soldiers and people were put on short allowance. "They are going to issue rations of horse-flesh to the troops," wrote Montcalm from Quebec on the second of December to Lévis at Montreal. Two days later, he wrote again: "Besides in the soup, my guests eat horse-flesh [*du cheval*] served in every style:

> "Petits pâtés de cheval à l'espagnole,
> Cheval à la mode,
> Escaloppe de cheval,
> Filet de cheval à la broche avec une poivrade bien liée,
> Semelles de cheval au gratin,
> Langue de cheval au miroton,
> Frigousse de cheval,
> Langue de cheval boucanée, meilleure que celle d'orignal,
> Gâteau de cheval, comme les gâteaux de lièvre."

Woman's Protest

Not every one submitted to the hardship as good-humoredly as did Montcalm. At Montreal, the people rose in riot and a mob of women gathered before the governor's palace and demanded audience. Vaudreuil admitted four and informed them that if they caused any more trouble he would throw them into prison and confiscate half their property. As it was rumored that Cadet, the commissary, had collected all the sorry jades in the country, Vaudreuil sent the women to the abbatoir

to convince them that the horses were in as good condition as the cattle. From that time, the Canadian French name for a lean horse was "un Cadet." 1757 1758

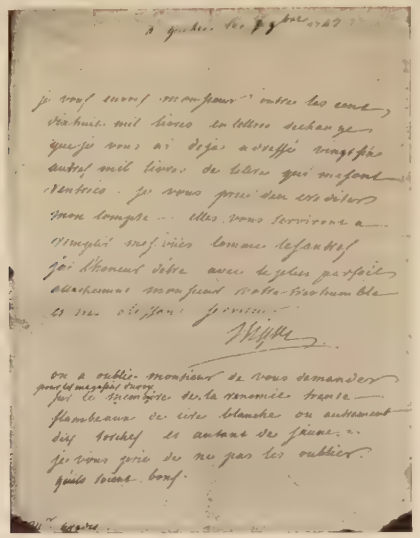
Encouraged by the people, the troops at Montreal grew mutinous, but Lévis was equal to the emergency. He attended in person the distribution of rations, caused a portion of horse-flesh to be cut for his own table, ordered the men to come forward and get theirs, and silenced the recalcitrants by saying that any one who refused to take his ration would be hung at once. Some days later, eight grenadiers carried to Lévis a plate of horse-flesh cooked in their fashion; the general found it very good. He then invited the grenadiers to dinner and gave them wine and two plates of horse-flesh prepared by his own cook; they found the meat not as good as their own. The chevalier then dismissed them with a present of four louis that they and their company might drink his health. The Tactful Lévis

The scarcity of food in the colony was due to several causes. English cruisers had captured many of the supply vessels sent out from France and had blockaded others in the home ports. So many of the Canadians had been obliged to go to war that not enough were left at home to work the fields, and the harvest had been small. A large part of what grain was grown was seized in the name of the king and paid for in depreciated "assignats" that were repudiated later. Another cause was that corrupt officials pushed their tyranny so far as to seal up mills owned by those who did not belong to the "combine," thereby rendering it difficult for the inhabitants to get their grain ground into flour. The Canadian Famine

As stated in an earlier chapter, the central figure in this band of gray wolves was François Bigot who, as intendant, had charge of trade, finance, justice, and the other forms of civil administration and was, in many respects, more powerful than either Montcalm or Vaudreuil. Although a rascal, Bigot was a man of great executive ability, generous to his friends, and a lavish entertainer. One of his chief accomplices was Joseph Cadet who had begun life as the son of a butcher in Quebec and had, Bigot and Cadet

1757 1758 through Bigot's influence, been made commissary-general in 1756. The whole civil official life of the colony was honeycombed with corruption while so many of the colonial military officers were involved that, according to Bougainville, there were not enough honest men among them to save Sodom.

Bigot's Way



Letter Signed by Bigot

One of Bigot's favorite frauds consisted in selling furs that belonged to the king at low prices to his friends instead of at public auction. Another was to import great quantities of goods from France and then, as a private individual, to sell his own goods at extravagant prices to himself as intendant. Through an agent, he established a shop that became known as "La Friponne" (The Cheat) and made large sums in much the same way. Goods imported by him and his friends were entered at the custom-house as belonging to the king and thus escaped the payment of duty. On one occasion, the cargo of an English prize was sold to his confederates for six hundred thousand francs and then, for the king's use, a part of it was bought back for a million francs; the vessel itself was hired to the king for the transportation of goods and troops. In time of war, he had the power to seize provisions for the king's use and this he did with great freedom. He "actually shipped this corn to France in his own vessels; then represented to the home government that Canada was suffering from famine; sold to the king in France the Canadian crops that he had seized and exported; brought these cargoes back to Canada again and resold them there, partly to

the Canadian government and partly to the wretched habitants from whom he had originally stolen them." 1757 1758

One of Cadet's chief resources was the falsification of accounts. To facilitate this work, he bribed military commandants to attest that they had received supplies that never were delivered and at prices that were enormous. In two years, he and his associates sold to the king for about twenty-three million francs provisions that had cost them about eleven millions; it is believed that Bigot shared in the profits. On another occasion, the two bought some stores belonging to the king for six hundred thousand francs and later sold them back for fourteen hundred thousand. Cadet did not hesitate to commit frauds in supplying the Indian allies with gifts and even went so far as to furnish the Acadian refugees with mouldy codfish, for which he charged the king an exorbitant price. He reaped a greater harvest of illicit gain than even Bigot and became the richest man in the colony. Cadet's Way

As was the case in France, female influence and intrigue played an important part in shaping the course of Canadian events. "Anyone with a sufficiently attractive wife could make his fortune by exiling himself to some distant part and taking his commission on the stores there whilst his wife remained in Quebec to brighten the social circle at the palace, and act as a decoy for those who were worth fleecing at cards." Major Péan, one of the most successful of the confederates, owed his opportunities for gain to his toleration of a liaison between his young and handsome wife and Bigot. Péan himself, "jilted by his own wife, made prosperous love to the wife of his partner, Penisseault," who in turn consoled himself with favors from the wives of small functionaries under his orders. Thrift Follows Fawning

The confederates gave the tone to society at the capital and entertained lavishly. Even when the people were suffering from lack of bread, brilliant and expensive dinners were of almost nightly occurrence. At the intendant's palace, gambling was the chief form of amuse- Gayety and Gambling

1757 1758 ment and the stakes were high. "No one speaks of anything," writes Montcalm late in December, 1757, "but of louis lost, of louis gained." "Gambling still continues," he chronicles on the twenty-sixth of January. "The intendant has lost eighty thousand francs and, between us, is very much piqued." By Lent, Bigot had lost more than two hundred thousand francs, which he proceeded to recoup by cheating the colony and his king. Thus did these plunderers gamble, steal, and make illicit love as New France tottered to its fall.

Gubernatorial Jealousy

Still further to distract the unhappy colony, the breach between Vaudreuil and Montcalm continued to widen. More than ever jealous of the successful general, Vaudreuil took every possible occasion for finding fault with him. Although he had enjoined upon the general the extreme necessity of allowing the Canadians to return home by the end of August in order that they might gather the crops, he continually complained because, after taking Fort William Henry, Montcalm had not pushed on against Fort Edward. In his letters to France he spoke disparagingly of Montcalm, praised Lévis, and hinted that the latter was the better fitted for the chief command. Montcalm was greatly annoyed by the governor's attitude and sometimes gave vent to unpleasant expressions that found their way to Vaudreuil. When in public together, both wore their masks of mutual civility.

Pierre Rigaud Marquis de Vaudreuil

An Abandoned Plan

Vaudreuil's hostility to Montcalm revealed itself in the plans for the campaign of 1758. It was known that the English were preparing for an attack on Ticonderoga,

but, in spite of the general's advice to concentrate all available forces about the threatened fortress, the governor planned a diversion by way of Oswego and the Mohawk in the hope that this would prevent the English from advancing and compel the Iroquois to declare for France. The expedition was to be commanded by Lévis with Rigaud, the governor's brother, as next in rank. But, late in June, English prisoners told their captors that twenty-five thousand troops were gathering at the head of Lake George for an attack on Ticonderoga and this plan was given up. Lévis and some of his men were sent to reinforce Montcalm but only a few arrived in time to be of any service. 1758

The prisoners' story was true in part. Abercromby was at the head of Lake George with a force of more than six thousand regulars and more than nine thousand provincials, the largest army of white men that had ever been assembled in North America. The second in command and the real leader was Brigadier George Augustus Howe, a young nobleman then in his thirty-fourth year. Though a strict disciplinarian, Howe had won the hearts of his soldiers. "It is not extravagent to supose," writes one who made the campaign, "that every soldier in the army had a personal attachment to him. he frequently came among the Carpenters, and his maner was so easy and fermilier, that you lost all that constraint or diffidence we feele when we are adressed by our superiors, whose maners are forbiding." Howe had studied the art of forest warfare with Rogers and had introduced many reforms to fit the regulars for the work before them. He was, said Wolfe, "the noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best

Lord Howe

Portrait of Lord Howe when a Child

1758 soldier in the British army;" Pitt described him as "a character of ancient times, a complete model of military virtue."

Abercromby's Pageant

By the evening of the fourth of July, more than a thousand boats had been collected and the baggage, artillery, stores, and ammunition had been placed on board. On the early morning of the fifth, the flotilla with the army and its train pushed out upon the waters. Rarely is it given for mortal eyes to behold such a sight. It was a brilliant and cloudless summer morning, the sun had just risen over the forest-clad mountain-tops, and the silver sheen of the lake was not marred by a single ripple. Even the prosaic Rogers who, with his hardy rangers and the light infantry under Gage and Bradstreet's boatmen, led the van was moved by the beauty of the picture and spoke of it in his *Journal*. The main army advanced in three columns, the regulars, clad in scarlet and white and gold, in the middle; the provincials in their uniforms of blue and red on the wings. Among the famous regiments there were the Forty-second Highlanders (the "Black Watch"), more than a thousand commanded by Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe. Each corps had its banners and music, and the measured splash of ten thousand oars was broken by the tones of trumpet, bugle, bagpipe, and drum, caught up by the woodland and repeated in the echoes of the narrow lake. Behind the main body came bateaux and heavy flatboats with the baggage and artillery, while a body of regulars and provincials brought up the rear.

At the Foot of Lake George

By ten o'clock, they began to pass through the Narrows and, at five in the afternoon, they reached Sabbath Day Point, twenty-five miles down the lake, where, both in the water and on the shore, they saw the skeletons of some of those who were surprised with Colonel Parker the year before. Here the troops rested until about eleven o'clock. At daybreak of the sixth, they passed the bare face of Rogers Rock where a partisan officer named Langy and a party of three hundred French were watching their movements; a little later they reached the north end

of the lake. Here a few of the enemy were seen but they were quickly driven off, after which the English troops were landed and an intrenchment was built to protect the rafts and bateaux. As the bridge over the river had been destroyed, Abercromby's army soon set out through the dense and tangled woods to the west of the outlet of the lake instead of taking the shorter route along the carrying-place on the east side of the rapids. Rogers and two provincial regiments under Fitch and Lyman led the way and the main army in four columns followed.

1758

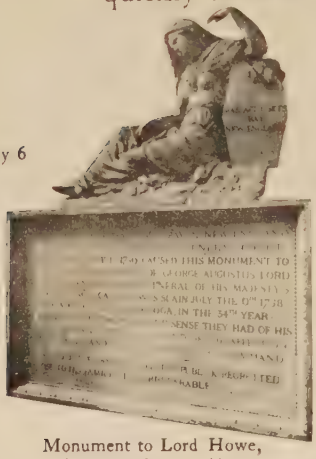
Map Illustrating the English Advance against Ticonderoga

The Death of Lord Howe

Meanwhile, the French reconnoitering party under Langy, abandoned by its Indian guides who had been frightened by the bigness of the English army, had been endeavoring to rejoin Montcalm but had become confused in the forest. Late in the afternoon, they inadvertently got between the advance-guard and the main army of the English. Suddenly a party of two hundred rangers accompanied by Lord Howe and Israel Putnam came in touch with the French. "Qui vive!" cried M. de Langy. "Français!" was the answer; but the French were not deceived and at once opened fire. The rangers replied and a hot skirmish followed. At first, the French thought that they were engaged with a scouting party and, deploying in Indian fashion, pressed the attack vigorously. The English, on their part, believed that they

1758 were in the presence of Montcalm's whole army. But the rangers behaved with great steadiness, the regulars quickly came to their senses, and such a heavy fire was opened upon the French that they soon saw that they had been mistaken. Before they could escape, Rogers and the two regiments in front turned back; of the French force only about fifty escaped. The English had not lost many, but among the fallen was Lord Howe, shot through the breast. "The death of one man was the ruin of fifteen thousand." The army was kept under arms during the night and, in the morning, was withdrawn to the intrenched landing-place.

July 6



Monument to Lord Howe, in Westminster Abbey

This withdrawal in all probability saved the enemy. At Ticonderoga, called Carillon by the French, Montcalm had scarcely more than three thousand men and had been considering the advisability of withdrawing to Crown Point. Having decided to defend his position, the next question was where should he fight the battle? Ticonderoga was on a point of land protected on three sides by water, but the fort was too small to hold the army, was poorly constructed, and was dominated by the heights of Rattlesnake Mountain, now called Mount Defiance. The French held both sides of the river at the falls, but Montcalm with most of his force was on the east side near the sawmill. Some days before, he had caused his engineers to trace the lines for an intrenchment upon the plateau in the rear of the fort, but little or no work was done there until the sixth, the day on which Lord Howe was killed, when one battalion was set to work. In the afternoon, Montcalm destroyed the bridge at the falls, retired to the peninsula, and camped in the rear of the unfinished breastwork. If Abercromby had pushed forward instead of falling back, he would have struck the French before their fortification

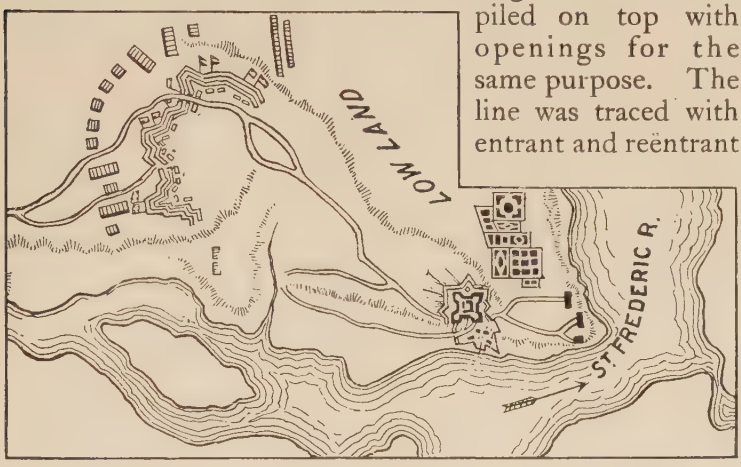
Montcalm at Ticonderoga

was completed and would probably have won an easy victory. 1758

Early the next morning, the whole French army set to work with great energy. Trees were cut down, branches were lopped off, and trunks were piled one upon another six or eight feet high. Notches were cut in the logs for loopholes and, here and there, sandbags and sods were piled on top with openings for the same purpose. The line was traced with entrant and reëntrant

The Plateau Intrenchment

July 7



Map of the French Works at Ticonderoga

angles so that an assaulting party would be subject to a cross-fire; at each end it was turned backward, following the crest of the plateau and forming a semicircle. For the distance of a musket-shot, the trees were cut down; immediately in front of the breastwork, large trees were laid with their tangled and sharpened branches facing outward.

By evening, the fortification was practically completed and the French, exhausted by their labors, enjoyed a well-earned rest in their camp behind it. At twilight, Captain Pouchot arrived with a reinforcement of three hundred regulars and, about three o'clock in the morning, Lévis, a host in himself, arrived with a hundred more. "They had shown the greatest diligence," says Montcalm, "advancing day and night, in spite of contrary winds, in order to join their comrades, who they knew were about to be attacked."

Lévis Arrives

Plan of Fort Ticonderoga, by Jefferys

In the early dawn of the eighth, Montcalm's little army formed in order of battle behind the rampart. The battalions of La Sarre and Languedoc were stationed upon the left, and those of Guyenne, Béarn, and la Reine on the right, with the first battalion of Berry and that of Royal Roussillon between. The defense of the flanks was intrusted to the volunteers and the Canadians. Behind each battalion, as a reserve, were a picket and a company of grenadiers. The second battalion of Berry, with the exception of its grenadiers, held the fort. Montcalm stationed himself in the center, with Bourlamaque in command on the left and Lévis on the right. The total French force amounted to about thirty-six hundred men. The rehearsal being over, the troops again fell to work strengthening their defenses.

1758

Montcalm's Line of Battle

Montcalm's hope was that the English would attempt to carry his position by assault; they might, however, bring up their artillery and batter down the breastwork; they might execute a flanking movement; or a part might threaten the breastwork while the remainder occupied the road to Crown Point and cut off the French retreat. Had Abercromby done any one of these things, Montcalm's position would have become untenable and retreat or surrender would have been his only alternative. The supplies at Ticonderoga were sufficient for eight days only and Montcalm's chief dread was that his line of communication would be severed.

Hope and Fear

After Abercromby's army had fallen back to the landing at the foot of the lake, Bradstreet and his boatmen rebuilt the bridges that the French had destroyed. The general abandoned his plan of working his way around the rapids by skirting the western bank of the river, crossed over to the other side, and followed the ordinary portage that ran across the loop formed by the bend of the outlet of the lake to the sawmill at the foot of the lower rapids. Here, near the southwest corner of the triangular peninsula on the apex of which stood Fort Ticonderoga, Abercromby made his headquarters; that night his army occupied the camp that the French forces

Abercromby's Advance

July 7

1758 had abandoned the night before. Meanwhile, the French, busy as beavers, were building their breastworks.

Abercromby Pushes Things

In the morning of the eighth, Sir William Johnson and some Indians arrived. About the middle of the forenoon, they opened a harmless fire from the slopes of Rattlesnake Mountain, across the river from the French fort. "After amusing themselves in this manner for a time, [they] remained for the rest of the day, safe spectators of the fight." In the meantime, Clerk, the engineer-in-chief, a young man of little experience, was sent to reconnoiter the French works; he reported that they could be carried by assault. Abercromby had heard that heavy reinforcements were on their way to join Montcalm. Anxious to strike a decisive blow before their arrival, he pushed his army forward as soon as possible and without artillery; for as much as this, Montcalm had hardly dared to hope. At the head marched the rangers, followed by the light infantry and Bradstreet's boatmen, then came more provincials and the main body of regulars. About noon, the English light troops drove in the French pickets.

Behind the Barricade

When it became evident that the English were advancing in force, a cannon was fired within the works and the French troops threw down their tools and took their places in triple line behind the breastwork over which floated the flags of the several battalions. With these flags was a banner, the gift of Canadian women who had embroidered it with their own hands. It was made of rich material; in its center, upon a field of azure strewn with lilies, was an image of the Holy Virgin. While the troops were adjusting their guns in the loopholes, Montcalm ran along his part of the line and instructed the officers to see to it that the men did not fire except when they saw an enemy; Lévis and Bourlamaque did the same on the right and on the left.

The English Repulsed

The outer side of the clearing was quickly alive with a swarm of provincials while behind them appeared the three main columns of British regulars and a fourth column composed of grenadiers and the picturesque "Black Watch" Highlanders. Passing between the pro-

vincial regiments, the regulars pushed forward to the assault. Abercromby's orders were to take the breastwork with the bayonet. As best they might, the troops made their way through the tangle of fallen trees. The French waited until their foes were within easy range and then poured in a deadly volley. With ranks broken by the storm of bullets and by the obstacles in their path, the British doggedly pushed on to the bristling chevaux-de-frise through which, under a deadly cross-fire, they vainly endeavored to force their way. For an hour, the fight went on and then the English sullenly retired to the shelter of the woods leaving hundreds of their dead and wounded in front of the rampart. 1758

English Pluck

Abercromby, who was still at the mill near the falls, sent word to renew the attack. Again and again, the troops made their difficult way through the labyrinth of fallen trees only to be shot down by their well-protected foe. What loss the French suffered was mainly inflicted by provincial sharpshooters who hid themselves behind stumps and trunks of trees and thence fired at the loopholes or at incautious heads showing above the rampart.

English Defeat

An attempt to turn the French left by sending twenty bateau-loads of troops down the outlet of Lake George was repulsed by a force of volunteers and by the cannon of the fort. Late in the afternoon, an assault upon the extreme right gave promise of success but, like the others, it was finally repulsed. Throughout the day and here in particular, the Highlanders, always bravest among the brave, displayed as great heroism for the house of Hanover as ever they had shown on their native heaths for the exiled Stuarts; their commander, Major Duncan Campbell who believed that the night before he had seen the grisly phantom of Inverawe, fell mortally wounded. At six o'clock, a final assault, as fruitless as those that had gone before, was attempted and then the baffled army, having suffered a loss in killed, wounded, and captured of nineteen hundred and forty-four officers and men, retired from the field.

1758 The Morrow

Throughout the day, Montcalm, Lévis, and Bourlamaque had been everywhere, displaying the utmost coolness and address. Thrilled by the courage of their leaders, the French troops fought heroically to cries of "Vive le roy et notre général." Bourlamaque was severely wounded and Lévis's hat was twice pierced by bullets. When the battle was over, Montcalm and Lévis, a great load lifted off their minds, made a tour of the intrenchments, congratulating the soldiers and ordering that they be refreshed with brandy, wine, and food. There yet remained the danger that the English, still more than three times as numerous as the French, would renew the attack. Montcalm knew that Abercromby had cannons and that he had not used them. Would not the carriage guns be brought up from the landing in the night? Would not tomorrow bring still more serious work and possible defeat? We need not doubt that Montcalm rejoiced when a morning reconnaissance showed that Abercromby and his thirteen thousand had reëmbarked in hasty flight.

Deus Triumphat

On the ninth, Montcalm dispatched an aide to carry the glorious news to Canada and, on the twelfth, the whole army ranged in battle array was drawn up on the plateau. There, amid the chanting of hymns of victory, the flourish of trumpets and the beating of drums, they planted a great cross upon which was placed the following Latin inscription, composed by Montcalm, with a French translation underneath:

> Quid dux? quid miles? quid strata ingentia ligna?
> En signum! en victor! Deus hic, Deus ipse triumphat!

Parkman has translated the couplet thus:

> Soldier and chief and rampart's strength are nought;
> Behold the conquering Cross! 'Tis God the triumph wrought.

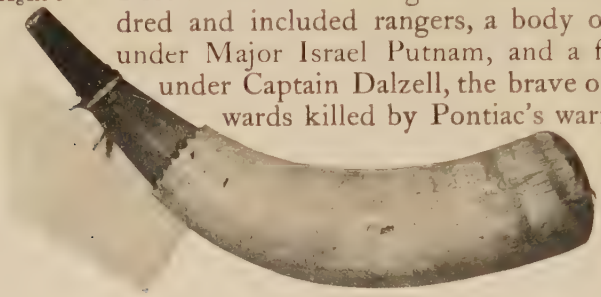
From the fulness of his heart, Montcalm wrote to his mother: "Never was a general in a more critical position than I was. God has delivered me, His be the praise! He gives me health, though I am worn out with labor, fatigue, and miserable dissensions that have determined me to ask for my recall. Heaven grant that I may get it."

Thus did Montcalm piously celebrate his victory, the greatest and almost the last triumph of French arms in North America. Time has not spared the monument; the fort itself is now a ruin; "but," says the Abbé Casgrain in his story of "Montcalm et Lévis," "the name of Carillon has forever remained inscribed in our military annals. The shot-torn flag hoisted by the Canadian militia on that memorable day was brought home and suspended under the vaults of the church of the Récollets in Quebec. Saved almost by a miracle when the church was burned in 1796, it has been tenderly preserved since that time as a relic of another age. On days of public ceremony, when the Canadians wish to recall the exploits of their fathers, they bear in triumph the flag of Carillon." The banner is now in the Quebec seminary. Although I am informed that "the so-called Carillon flag is not at all authentic and there are many doubts as to whether it is a battle-flag at all," and that "the flag is not shot-torn," the abbé's story is so touching that I have not the heart to "leave it out." 1758 The Flag of Carillon

While the French were thus rejoicing, Abercromby was adding poltroonery to rashness and defeat. On the night of the battle, he sent orders to the commander at Fort William Henry to send the sick and wounded and the heavy artillery to New York without delay and followed the order in such a hurry to escape that he left behind many of his wounded and large quantities of provisions and baggage. He magnified the forces that he had not seen and probably rejoiced when he found that he was not pursued. Retiring to his former camp at the head of Lake George, a safe distance from Montcalm and Ticonderoga, he gave up all thought of another offensive movement and proceeded to intrench himself. Henceforth, the disgusted provincials called him "Mrs. Nabbycromby." Mrs. Nabbycromby

During the remainder of the year, military operations in the Lake George region were confined to petty raids and resultant forest conflicts in one of which an English party led by Robert Rogers ran into a trap that the French and Indians under the celebrated Marin had set The Trial by Fire

1758 August 8 in the Wood Creek region and near the ruins of old Fort Anne. The English numbered about seven hundred and included rangers, a body of Connecticut men under Major Israel Putnam, and a few British regulars under Captain Dalzell, the brave officer who was afterwards killed by Pontiac's warriors as will be told in a later chapter. The fight that followed continued for about two hours and then the French and their allies retreated, carrying with them a few prisoners among whom was the Connecticut major. That night, the Indians tied Putnam to a tree and lighted a fire to burn him. From his threatened fate he was rescued, first by a rainstorm that put out the fire and again by Marin who came up just in time. Suffering from his burns, he was laid upon his back; his wrists and ankles were tied to young trees; across him were laid limbs and tender saplings upon the ends of which some of his captors slept that any movement he might make would arouse them. Terrible as was his torture, Putnam survived, was taken to Ticonderoga, and thence to Montreal. At the next exchange of prisoners, he was given up to the English.



An Old Powder-horn, made at Lake George in 1758

Bradstreet at Oswego

While Loudoun was in command, Lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet had proposed the capture of Fort Frontenac

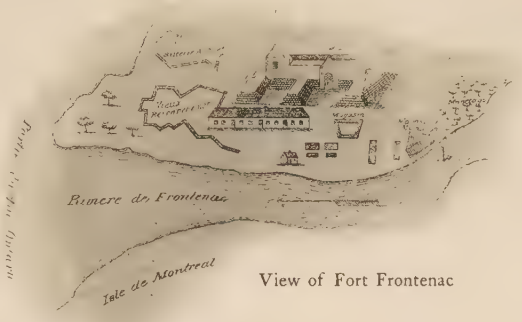
Autograph of John Bradstreet

on Lake Ontario and had received the approval of his lordship. Then Abercromby took command and refused his consent. After the ignominious failure of the attempt on Ticonderoga, Bradstreet again brought his plan forward. Under pressure from a council of war, "Mrs. Nabbycromby" gave consent and supplied a force of

about three thousand, mostly provincials. Without loss of time, Bradstreet advanced by the Mohawk-Onondaga route and, in spite of the effect of the defeat at Ticonderoga, succeeded in persuading a party of about forty Oneidas under a chief named Red Head to accompany him. He reached the desolate site of Oswego on the twenty-first of August. On the following day, he embarked his expedition in bateaux and whaleboats and, three days later, landed near Fort Frontenac, the naval arsenal of the French on Lake Ontario and the main depot for supplies for the French posts of the upper country. 1758

The French fortress was in bad repair and contained only about one hundred and ten men, partly laborers. M. de Noyan, the commandant, held out until English cannon had begun to knock his fortifications about his ears and then surrendered. In the fort the English found great quantities of provisions, stores, and goods for the northwestern Indians, and seventy-six cannons and mortars, some of which had been taken from Braddock, and others at Oswego. The best pieces of the captured artillery were reserved; the trunnions of the others were knocked off. The English also captured nine vessels, two of which were armed—the whole French naval force on Lake Ontario. Not an English life had been lost in the affair. Red Head and his warriors wished to scalp the French, but Bradstreet would not comply with their requests "to do as the French did,—turn his back and shut his eyes." He consoled the Indians for their forced abstinence by giving them a large share of the booty. De Noyan and his men were allowed to go to Montreal on condition

Bradstreet takes Fort Frontenac August 27



View of Fort Frontenac

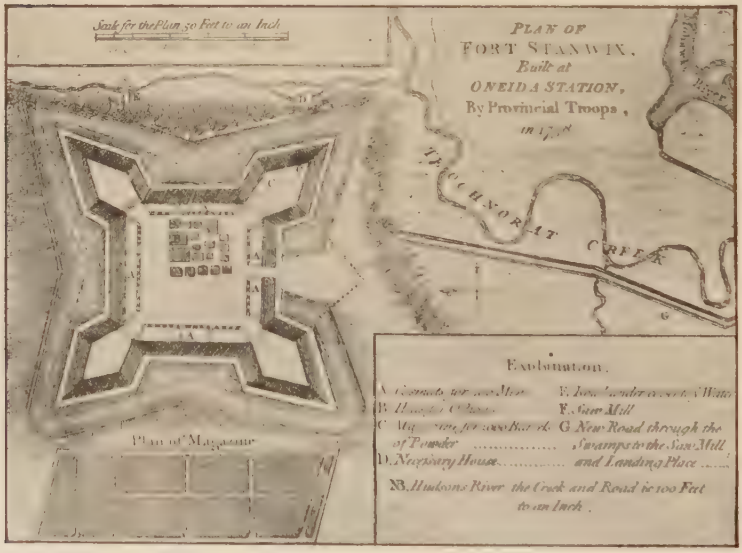
1758 that the same number of English, including Colonel Schuyler then a prisoner on parole, should be delivered to Abercromby. The fort, seven of the vessels, and all the stores that could not be carried away, were then destroyed, and Bradstreet and his men made their way back to Oswego where the spoil was unloaded and the two remaining vessels were destroyed.

English Prestige

This victory, which had been so cheaply won, was a serious blow to the French. Their control over Lake Ontario was destroyed, their communication with the West was interrupted; Fort Duquesne was deprived of supplies without which it could not be held against the attack that threatened it, and the Indians got a new and needed impression as to English valor. Hundreds of the barbarians who hitherto had fought for the French became neutral, while others who had wavered now took up the hatchet for the English.

Fort Stanwix

From Oswego, Bradstreet led his victorious army—



Plan of Fort Stanwix, 1758

the only victorious English army in those parts—back to Albany, leaving, however, a thousand men at the

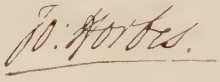
unfinished Fort Stanwix at the great portage. In October, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, lately from Louisburg, marched some of his victorious regiments overland from Boston to Albany. Early in November, came dispatches appointing Amherst commander-in-chief of the English forces in America. 1758

CHAPTER XI

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758—THE FALL OF FORT DUQUESNE

The Commander

BRIGADIER-GENERAL John Forbes, whom Pitt had chosen to lead the expedition against the fortress that Braddock had failed to capture three years before, was a Scotchman about forty-eight years of age. He had studied medicine, changed his mind, entered the army, and seen service in the German war and in Lord Loudoun's ill-starred expedition against Louisburg in 1757. As was the case with Wolfe, his health was poor, but he possessed a will that carried him through all difficulties. Liberal in his views and simple in his deportment, he appears to have had none of the superciliousness that had rendered many of the British officers odious to Americans. Altogether, he was well fitted both for the military and diplomatic duties of his new command.



Autograph of John Forbes

The Troops

His army was to consist of a battalion of Royal Americans, a regiment that was composed largely of Pennsylvania Germans and officered by men brought from Europe for that purpose, about twelve hundred and sixty Highlanders from Montgomery's regiment, the sixty-second, and provincials from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. But, when Forbes reached Philadelphia in April, few of the provincials had been enlisted, the Highlanders had not arrived from South Carolina, and the stores and ammunition had not

come from England. Loudoun had left to their work of havoc the scalping parties of the enemy on the western border, and the country west of the Blue Ridge had been made uninhabitable for the English; yet these interested colonies were provokingly slow and inefficient. In Pennsylvania, the old dispute concerning the taxing of pro- 1758

Pennsylvania Ten-Shilling Bill, 1758

prietary estates was again raging, but the colony finally provided twenty-five hundred men. Maryland, with a population of nearly a hundred thousand, contributed only about two hundred and seventy; while Virginia, the most populous of all the colonies, raised not much more than fourteen hundred.

The Provincial Officers

By the end of June, most of the army had been assembled. The total number of men furnished by the colonies was slightly more than four thousand, besides wagoners and laborers. Some of the troops came with damaged firelocks bound with string, others with no weapons but walking-sticks, while many of them had never fired a gun. Forbes declared that their officers, except a few in the higher ranks, were "an extream bad Collection of broken Innkeepers, Horsejockeys, and Indian traders." There is corroborative evidence of the

1758 fidelity of the picture. Apparently the tidewater aristocracy of Maryland and Virginia preferred the comforts and the safety of their plantations to the strenuous life and were content to leave the fighting for the common people. As an exception to the general rule, Washington, writing

April 10 from Fort Loudoun, asked General John Stanwix, the late commander of the Southern district, to mention him in favorable terms to General Forbes, "not as a person who would depend upon him for further recommendation to military preferment, for I have long conquered all such inclinations (and serve this campaign merely for the purpose of affording my best endeavors to bring matters to a conclusion), but as a person, who would gladly be distinguished in some measure from the *common run* of provincial officers, as I understand there will be a motley herd of us."

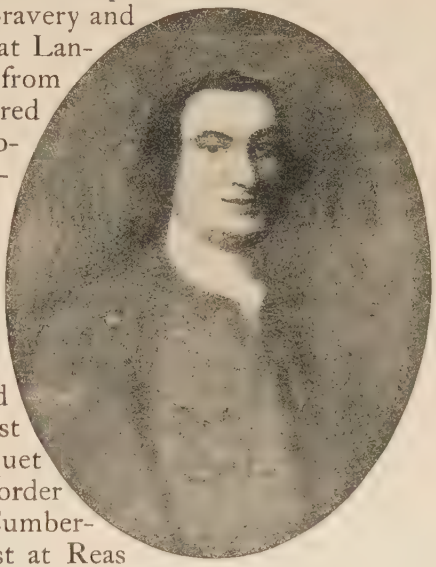
The Burd Road

Soon after his arrival in Virginia, General Braddock had urged Governor Morris of Pennsylvania to have a road opened westward through the Quaker province, then the "granary of America." Morris immediately replied that "there is no Waggon Road from Carlisle West through the Mountains but only a Horse Path by which the Indian Traders used to carry their Goods and Skins to and from the Ohio while that Trade remained open." The Pennsylvania assembly seems to have been in an

1755 unusually amiable mood for, about the middle of March, Morris was authorized to open a road "through Carlisle and Shippensburg to the Yoijogain, and to the camp at Will Creek." Morris immediately appointed James Burd, John Armstrong, William Buchanan, and others to find a road to the three forks of the Youghiogheny—then known as "Turkey Foot" and now known as Confluence, Pennsylvania. When the old Indian trading path had been made a white man's road to four or five miles beyond Raystown, the tardy news of Braddock's defeat sent the woodchoppers to their homes. Meantime, Burd had been at work on the road that led toward the Turkey Foot. On the seventeenth of July, still in ignorance of Braddock's defeat, he wrote to Governor

Morris from the "Top of the Alleghanies." On the night of that day, news of the disaster near Fort Duquesne was received from Fort Cumberland and the party retreated thither. On the twenty-fifth, Burd reported from Shippensburg to Governor Morris and added: "St Clair told Me that I had done my Duty." 1758

In April, 1758, Henry Bouquet, the lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Americans, arrived at New York. A Swiss by birth, he had been trained in the profession of arms from youth and possessed personal accomplishments that gave an additional charm to his bravery and energy. A month later, he was at Lancaster where he received orders from Forbes to contract for a hundred and twenty wagons to carry provisions to Raystown, now Bedford, the chosen base of supplies and place of rendezvous. Bouquet was directed to select a site for a fort there and, "by all means have the road reconnoitred from Raystown to the Yohageny"—the Burd road that had been begun at Braddock's request in 1755. From Carlisle, Bouquet wrote to Forbes: "I shall order Washington's regiment to Fort Cumberland and as soon as we take post at Reas Town 300 of them must cut the Road along the Path from Fort Cumberland to Reas Town and join us." It is probable that, at this time, Forbes intended to advance from Raystown to Fort Cumberland and thence by the old Braddock road to the forks of the Ohio. Bouquet



Henry Bouquet

May 25

At the end of June, Bouquet and the advance-guard reached Raystown where "Virginians in hunting shirts, Highlanders in kilt and plaid, and Royal Americans in regulation scarlet, labored at throwing up intrenchments and palisades, while around stood the silent mountains in Forbes's Painful Journey

1758 their mantles of green." Washington was at Fort Cumberland with a part of his regiment, and Forbes was still at Philadelphia trying to bring order out of chaos; "If I did not see to everything myself, we should never get out of this town," he wrote. To his troubles about horses, wagons, provisions, the quarrels of the assembly with the proprietaries, and the incompetency of a quartermaster-general of whom he said: "He is a very odd man and I am sorry it has been my fate to have any concern with him," was added a painful and dangerous malady that would have sent a less plucky man to bed. Soon after this, Forbes began his necessarily painful journey westward. By the middle of the month, he was at Carlisle where he was held by "a most violent and tormenting distemper" until the eleventh of August. Thence he was borne in a hurdle swung between two horses as far as Shippensburg where he lay almost helpless until September.

Aut Viam Inveniam Aut Faciam

The urgent question that now arose was what route should the army take? Should it march to Fort Cumberland and thence advance by the old Braddock road or should it take the more direct course and cut a new road toward Fort Duquesne? The old road lay closely parallel to the interests of Virginia which wanted to control the main route to the rich lands of the Ohio; on the other hand there were active interested partisans of a new Pennsylvania route; hence a bitter factional fight. In favor of the new route were the facts that it would be shorter, that it would not cross any large rivers, and that by it the army could be provisioned with much greater ease. On the tenth of July, Forbes wrote to Pitt: "I am in hopes of finding a better way over the Alleganey Mountain, than that from Fort Cumberland which General Braddock took. If so I shall shorten both my March, and my labour of cutting the road about 40 miles, which is a great consideration." On the following day, he sent word to Bouquet "that the Road over the Allegany may be reconnoitred."

On the twenty-first of July, Bouquet wrote to Forbes:

"As regards your Route the Virginia party continues in full force, and although the secret motive of their policy seems to me not above suspicion of partiality, it nevertheless appears to me an additional reason for acting with double caution in a matter of this consequence, so as to have ample answers for all their clamors, if any accident happens, which they would not fail to attribute to the choice of a fresh route." In the same letter, he reported that "on the day after tomorrow Major Armstrong will set out with a party of 100 volunteers to mark out the road, and will send me a man every day (or every two days) to inform me of his progress & observations." Armstrong reported that the direct road by way of Laurel Hill was practicable, and Sir John Saint Clair, the quartermaster-general who had so greatly troubled Forbes with his quibbling vacillation that the latter suspected his "heart as well as the head," was sent forward to investigate. On the thirty-first of July, Forbes wrote a decisive letter and, on the following day, men were at work cutting a new road westward from Raystown.

1758

A New Route Chosen

Before General Forbes had decided upon the route that he would take, Washington wrote to Bouquet seeking his interest with the general "to get my regiment and myself included in the number" of light troops that were soon to be sent forward; on the thirtieth, the two met. On the second of August, Washington wrote again to Bouquet—a long letter in favor of following the old road—and in a letter to Major Francis Halket, then in Forbes's camp at Carlisle, even went so far as to predict, with the positiveness of youth, that, if the new road recommended by Bouquet was approved by the general, "all is lost,—all is lost indeed! Our enterprise will be ruined, and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter; but not to gather *laurels*, except of the kind that covers the mountain." Although a few days later, he wrote to Bouquet that "the General's orders—or the order of any Superior Officer will, when once given, be a law to me," his later correspondence shows that he was still irritated by the choice of route. A contemporary

Washington's Persistency

July 21

August 2

August 6

1758 October 3

letter states that "the Virginians are much chagrined at the opening of the road through this government [Pennsylvania], and Colonel Washington has been a good deal sanguine and obstinate upon the occasion." Even General Forbes was offended by the persistence shown and advised Bouquet to consult with the young Virginia colonel "though perhaps not follow his advice, as his behaviour about the roads was no ways like a soldier."

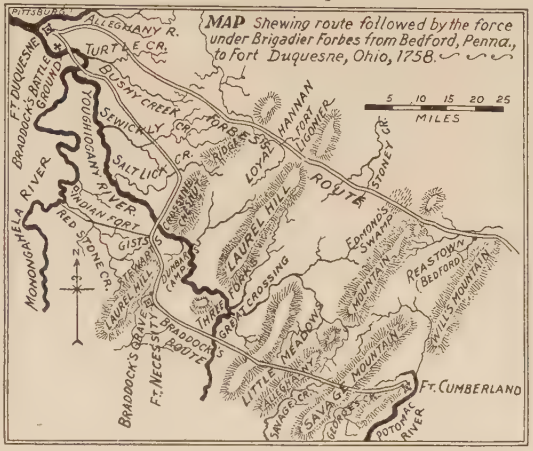
All Things Come to Him Who Waits

As Washington had predicted, the advance was extremely slow, but this was in part due to the plan of campaign itself. Forbes, who had learned from Braddock's errors, had decided to push on by easy stages, establishing fortified magazines as he went instead of attempting a continuous march hampered by a long and cumbrous baggage train. He would put off the decisive movement until late in the fall, for he wanted time in which to detach the Indian allies of the French, and he believed that later in the season lack of provisions would force the French to diminish their garrison at Duquesne. He knew that a Moravian missionary was then among the Ohio Indians trying to lead them away from their alliance with the French and that red men were already gathering at Easton for the making of a treaty with the English. On the second of September, he wrote to Bouquet hinting at these things and manifesting a willingness for delay in almost anything excepting the building of the road. When within easy striking distance of the fort, he would advance quickly and make sharp work. Moreover, he admitted what Braddock could not see, that "in this country, we must learn the art of war from enemy Indians, or anybody else who has seen it carried on here."

Opening the Way

From Bouquet's camp at Raystown, Sir John Saint Clair advanced with troops to build the road over the Alleghenies and sent back a requisition for "pickaxes, crows, and shovels; likewise more whiskey. Send me the newspapers, and tell my black to send me a candlestick, and half a loaf of sugar." The route led over rugged mountains covered with heavy forest and thick underbrush, and the soldiers found it heavy work, "hew-

ing, digging, blasting, laying fascines and gabions to support the track along the sides of steep declivities, or worming their way like moles through the jungle of swamp and forest." Forbes, in writing to Pitt later, described the country as an "immense uninhabited Wilderness, overgrown everywhere with trees and underbrush, so that no where can anyone see twenty yards," and he began to think that perhaps it would have been better had he followed Washington's advice and taken the Braddock route. 1758



Forbes's Route, 1758

October 20

Earnest efforts had been made to secure friendly Cherokees and Catawbas to serve as scouts and skirmishers. Many came to the camp where their insolent and greedy behavior proved very trying to the English officers. "The greatest curse that our Lord can pronounce against the worst of sinners," wrote Saint Clair, "is to give them business to do with provincial commissioners and friendly Indians." Bouquet showed considerable tact in dealing with them and even adopted one of them as his son, but most of them deserted when the supply of presents was exhausted. On their homeward way, some of the Cherokees committed outrages that led to reprisals and an Indian war, as will be told more fully in a later chapter. Indian Allies

About the first of September, Bouquet crossed the main branch of the Alleghenies and the Laurel Hill Ridge and arrived at Ligonier on Loyalhanna Creek, about fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. Here Major James Grant of the Highlanders urged that he be Grant's Advance

1758 allowed to move forward with a force to reconnoiter the fort and perhaps to strike a blow that would discourage the defenders and encourage the English. The movement was out of harmony with Forbes's plan, but Bouquet consented and provided a detachment of more than eight hundred men, Highlanders, Royal Americans, and a picked body of provincials under Major Lewis of Washington's regiment. Grant advanced without being discovered and, about two o'clock on the morning of the fourteenth of September reached a high ridge later known as Grant's Hill; in the valley that lay before him was Fort Duquesne. Around the fort were some cultivated fields and beyond them the forest. As Grant and his men looked down upon the valley in the silence of that early September morning, they could not have imagined the miracle that man and machinery were to work. The wonder had not then been wrought and Grant and his eight hundred had no time to dream.

A Heady Venture

Grant was an ill-balanced, supercilious sort of man, who seems to have gone through life underestimating his opponent. On the present occasion, he had made up his mind that the enemy's force was weaker than his own, whereas it was probably two or three times as numerous. He sent Major Lewis with a considerable force to attack the Indians outside the fort and then to retire upon the main body which was meanwhile to lie in ambush. But Lewis's men lost their way in the woods and fog, and fell into such disorder that they returned just before dawn without having accomplished their purpose. Dividing his forces with incredible rashness, Grant sent a body of Highlanders to burn a warehouse that stood outside the fort, sent Lewis back with two hundred men to help Captain Bullitt's company of Virginians to guard the baggage, sent a hundred Pennsylvanians toward the Allegheny on the right and Captain Mackenzie with some Highlanders toward the Monongahela on the left and ordered Captain Macdonald with another company of Highlanders to reconnoiter and to make a plan of the fort.

"About the same time," says Grant, "I gave directions to our drums to beat the Reveille." The effect was startling. The French and Indians, some of the former wearing nothing but their shirts, swarmed out like angry hornets, killed Macdonald and many of his men, and drove the remainder and Mackenzie's party back to where Grant stood with a hundred other Highlanders and a company of Marylanders. Here a hard fight ensued, but after a time the Highlanders, no match for the Indians in the game of forest warfare, broke and fled. Grant fell back to the baggage but found there only Captain Bullitt and his men; Lewis had advanced to Grant's assistance and the two parties had missed each other. Bullitt and his Virginians made a desperate resistance, but many of them were killed and the rest were driven into the Allegheny. Grant himself was captured at what is now the corner of Wood street and Third avenue, Pittsburg; Lewis and some of his men also were taken. Of the English force, five hundred and forty made their way back to Loyalhanna. The loss of the French and Indians was insignificant. Bouquet reported the unpleasant news to Forbes who was still at Raystown. With commendable moderation, Forbes replied that he had read the letter "with no less surprise than concern, as I could not believe that such an attempt would have been made without my knowledge and concurrence. . . . My friend Grant most certainly lost his wits, and by his thirst of fame brought on his own perdition and ran great risk of ours."

1758 Grant's Attack and Defeat

The French, who hitherto had not been aware that the English were approaching on a new road, followed up their success by sending out parties to harass Bouquet's forces at Loyalhanna. One of these parties captured about three hundred cattle and horses, and made several prisoners. But affairs at Fort Duquesne were growing desperate. For want of the provisions destroyed by Bradstreet at Fort Frontenac, Monsieur de Ligneris, the commandant, was obliged to send away many of his Indians and a large part of his garrison. The militia of

The French Garrison

1758 Louisiana and the Illinois set out for home in November, the Indians of Detroit and the Wabash soon imitated their example, and a detachment was sent to Montreal. The garrison was thus reduced to about four hundred men. In this respect, Forbes's plan was working out as he had anticipated.

Diplomacy

While Forbes was holding back, negotiations with some of the Indian allies of the French were in progress. Both of the European contestants had taught the red men to expect liberal presents, but of late the French had not been able to satisfy them — New France was poor, her chief officials were corrupt and greedy, British cruisers had been busy and the way that led from Quebec to Montreal had been cut at Lake Ontario. The goods that French traders had to offer were scant in quantity and high in price as compared with the supplies that the Indians had received from the English before the war. There were rumors of the coming of a red-coat army big enough to drive the French out of the Ohio country, and the Indians of that region were shrewd enough to desire to be on friendly terms with the winning side. In the preceding year, the Delawares of the upper Susquehanna had made peace with the English, and their great chief, Teedyuscung, was anxious to send wampum belts to the Delawares of the Ohio, inviting them to lay down the hatchet. Even the Iroquois used their influence to the same end, but the factor most potent in the coming pacification was Christian Frederick Post, a heroic missionary of the peace-loving Moravian brotherhood.

Christian Frederick Post

The Delawares of the West and the Shawnees lived within easy reach of Fort Duquesne; for three years they had been devastating the English frontier. Forbes had been working to the end that they and other tribes might be won from their alliance with the French. On the eighteenth of August, he wrote from Shippensburg to Bouquet: "After many intrigues with Quakers, the Provincial Commissioners, the Governor, etc., and by the downright bullying of Sir William Johnson, I hope I have now brought about a general convention of the

Indians." In this hope we find a reason why Forbes was willing to make haste slowly toward Fort Duquesne. At his instance, Post was to go on a mission to these hostile tribes as the envoy of Chief Teedyuscung, Governor Denny, and the Pennsylvania council. No better envoy could have been selected. Post had lived among these Indians, was familiar with their customs and their language, and had gained their confidence. The Abbé Casgrain says that "he was a simple and righteous man, one of those beautiful souls toward whom one feels oneself drawn." To the Moravian brethren all war was wrong; Post was willing to hazard his life in the pursuance of his holy aim. 1758

Autograph of William Denny

Post's Mission

Post set out from Philadelphia on the fifteenth of July, accompanied by some friendly Indians. He arrived at Fort Allen on the twentieth and there Teedyuscung, fearing that the missionary would be killed, protested strongly against his going further. In his journal, Post records that he replied that if he "died in the Undertaking, it would be as much for the Indians as the English, and that I hoped my Journey would be of this Advantage, that it would be the Means of saving the Lives of Many hundreds of the Indians: Therefore I was resolved to go forward, taking my Life in my Hand, as one ready to part with it for their Good. Immediately after I had spoken thus, three rose up and offered to go with me the nearest Way."

Post Undismayed

One of the Indians soon turned back, but Post and the other two persevered on their way through the wilderness. At one place they saw hanging on a bush three hoops that the Indians had used in stretching and drying scalps; to one of them still adhered "some long white Hair." In other places they found red-painted posts to which the Indians had tied their prisoners when camping for the night. Undismayed by these signs, they still kept on, passed Fort Venango (to within ten yards of which Post ventured one morning while hunting his strayed

1758 horse) and, on the thirteenth of August, came to the Delaware town of Kushkushkee on Beaver Creek, northwest of Fort Duquesne.

Post in Danger

Here they were well received, but at another town on the same stream a crowd of warriors surrounded Post and with drawn knives threatened his life. Fortunately, some Indians with whom he had formerly been acquainted took his part and quiet was restored. That afternoon, in the presence of a French captain, he read to the Delawares his message. They then insisted that he should go with them to Fort Duquesne where, they said, there were Indians of eight different nations who would wish to hear him. Against this perilous proposal Post in vain protested. Finding it expedient to submit, he was conducted to an Indian camp across the river from the fort. When the French heard of his presence, they demanded that he be given up to them; when this was refused, they offered a reward for his scalp, and his friends advised him not to stir from the camp-fire. "Accordingly," says Post, "I stuck as close to the fire as if I had been chained there." On the twenty-sixth, in the presence of French officers who wrote down what he said, he again delivered his message, inviting the Indians to renew their covenant with the English, telling them that an army was on the way to drive out the French, and advising them to stand neutral.

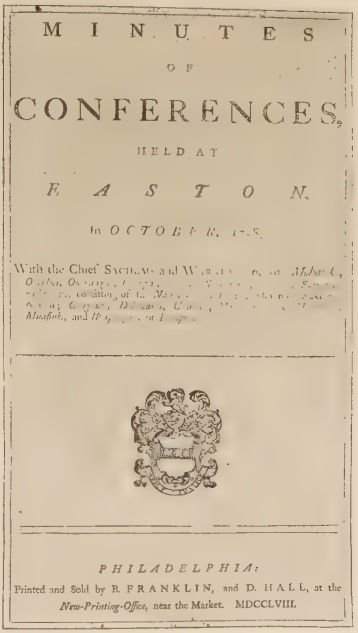
Post Returns in Safety

From Fort Duquesne, Post went to other towns and, after waiting several days, received the answer of the Delaware tribes which was to the effect that they were willing to renew the peace provided the wampum belt was sent to them not in the name of Pennsylvania only but in the name of all the colonies. Post then wished to return home, but the Indians had seen him writing something in his notebook and were afraid to let him go. "It is a troublesome Cross and a heavy Yoke to draw this People," he wrote in his journal; "They can punish and squeeze a Body's Heart to the utmost." On the following day, "there came some together and examined me about what I had wrote Yesterday. . . . I told them

I writ what was my Duty to do. 'Brothers, I tell you I am not afraid of you, if there were a thousand more.'" Two weeks later, he arrived at Fort Augusta. 1758

The Treaty of Easton

Partly as a result of the missionary's mission, a great peace convention met at Easton in October. Delegates from several of the provinces and from the Iroquois, the Mohegans, the eastern Delawares, and other kindred tribes were present. The conference was continued for more than two weeks with the inevitable formalities, weary repetitions, and long-winded speeches. At last, all differences were settled and wampum belts were given to the Indians to heal their wounds and to make firm the new pact of peace. "By this belt," said the governor of Pennsylvania, holding up a large peace belt, "we renew all our treaties; we brighten the chain of friendship, we put fresh earth to the roots of the tree of peace, that it may bear up against every storm, and live and flourish while the sun shines and the rivers run." In accordance with his request that the belt should be sent to their friends and allies, all present agreed to send a joint message to the Ohio tribes.

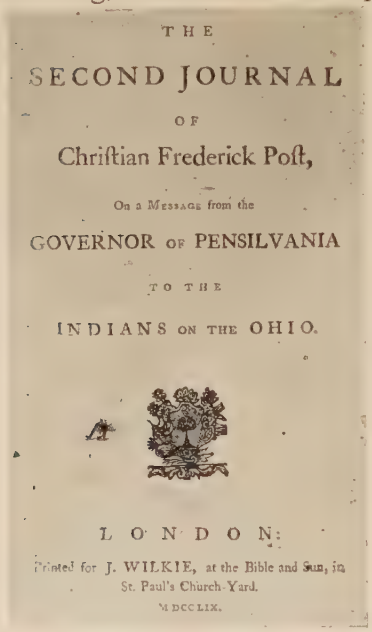

MINUTES
OF
CONFERENCES,
HELD AT
EASTON,
In OCTOBER, 1758.
With the Chief Sachems and Warriors of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, and other Nations of the Six United Nations, Delawares, Unami, Munsies, and Mohickons.
PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, and D. HALL, at the New-Printing-Office, near the Market. MDCCLVIII.

Title-page of *Minutes of Conferences Held at Easton*

Post's Second Mission

Post, with several white and Indian companions, was sent to deliver the belt and the message. This second mission proved as dangerous as the first. A small escort of soldiers that went with him as far as the Allegheny River was attacked on its way back by an Indian band, some of the very warriors to whom Post was going on his mission of peace; only a few of the escort

1758 escaped. When Post reached the villages of the Delawares, the young men murmured, saying: "Anybody can see with half an eye that the English only mean to cheat us. Let us knock the messengers in the head." But the old men were of a different mind and, in the evening, met Post and his party in the log-house where they lodged. When a French officer from Fort Duquesne appeared with a string of wampum and an invitation from Ligneris, the commandant, "they kicked it [the wampum] from one to another as if it was a snake." At a grand council, the French officer being present, Post delivered two messages, one from the Easton conference and one sent by Forbes. "The messages pleased all the hearers except the French captain," says Post's journal. "They all said, 'the French always deceived us!' pointing at the French captain; who, bowing down his head, turned quite pale, and could look no one in the face. All the Indians began to mock and laugh at him. He could hold it no longer, and went out." The peace overtures were accepted and the Delawares, Shawnees, and Mingoes laid down the hatchet.


THE
SECOND JOURNAL
OF
Chriſtian Frederick Poſt,
On a Message from the
GOVERNOR OF PENSILVANIA
TO THE
INDIANS ON THE OHIO.
LONDON:
Printed for J. WILKIE, at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.
MDCCLIX.

Title-page of Post's *Second Journal*

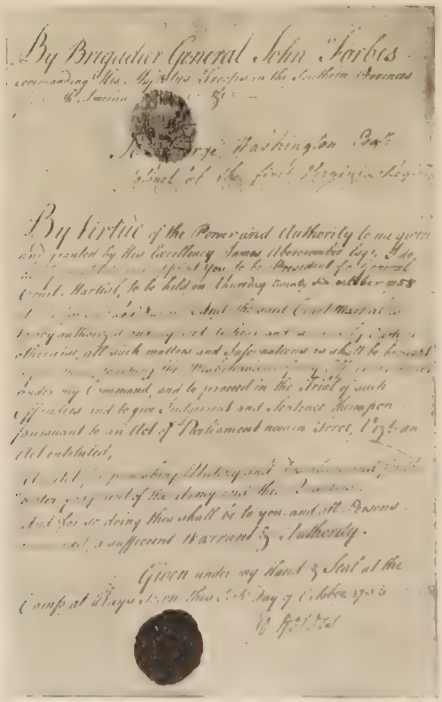
Mud and Misery

Despite the favorable progress of these negotiations, the chances for the capture of Fort Duquesne appeared nothing less than desperate. "Autumnal rains, uncommonly heavy and persistent, had ruined the newly-cut road. On the mountains the torrents tore it up, and in the valleys the wheels of the wagons and cannon churned it into soft mud. The horses, overworked and underfed,

Washington's Manuscript Sketch of Fort Cumberland

1758 were fast breaking down" and the magazines of provisions at Raystown and Loyalhanna were emptied faster than they could be filled. "An impenetrable veil of mist and rain hid the mountains and the trees. Dejected Nature wept and would not be comforted. Above, below, around, all was trickling, oozing, pattering, gushing. In the miserable encampments the starved horses stood steaming in the rain, and the men crouched, disgusted, under their dripping tents, while the drenched picket-guard in the neighboring forest paced dolefully through black mire and spongy mosses. The rain turned to snow; the descending flakes clung to the many-colored foliage, or melted from sight in the trench of half-liquid clay that was called a road. The wheels of the wagons sank in it to the hub, and to advance or retreat was alike impossible."

Washington Gets Into Line


By Brigadier General John Forbes ...
... Washington Esqr. ...
... Colonel of the first Regiment ...
By Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given and granted by His Excellency James Abercrombie Esqr. ... I do hereby appoint You to be President of a General Court Martial to be held on Thursday ... October 1758 ... and the said Court Martial is hereby authorized and required to hear and ... all such matters and informations as shall be brought before them touching the Misbehaviour ... Officers under my Command, and to proceed in the Trial of such Offenders and to give Judgment and Sentence thereon pursuant to an Act of Parliament made in the ... Year of His Majesty's Reign, Entitled, An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better payment of the Army and their Quarters. And for so doing this shall be to you and all Persons ... a sufficient Warrant & Authority.
Given under my Hand & Seal at the Camp at Raystown this ... Day of October 1758
J. Forbes

Forbes's Order Appointing Washington President of a General Court Martial

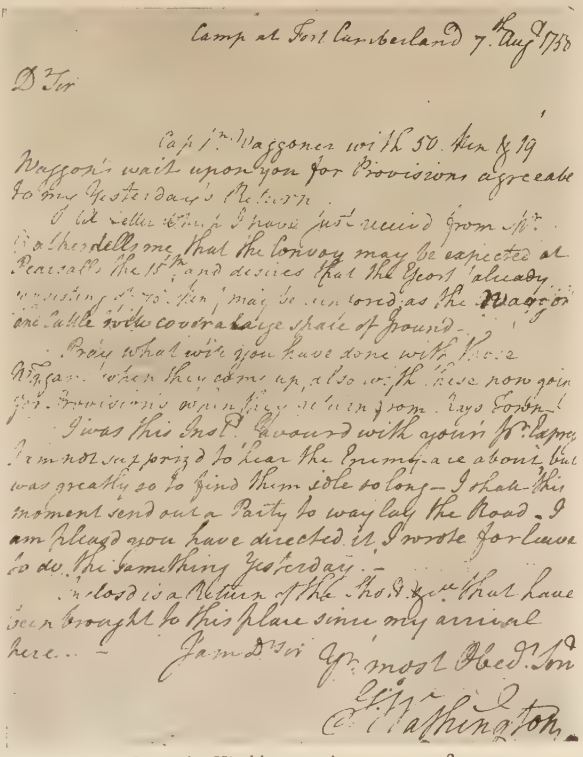
About the middle of September, Forbes was carried from Shippensburg to Raystown where, on the fifteenth, he had a conference with the colonels of his command then in camp there. On the twenty-first, Washington marched his men from Fort Cumberland to Raystown. On the eighth of October, he submitted to Forbes, at the request of the latter, a plan of a line of march for forces in a forest with a diagram for throwing the line into order of battle. Unlike Braddock, Forbes was willing to learn all the arts of

woodcraft and partisan warfare that Washington could teach him. A little later, Washington was sent forward in advance of the main army to take command of the party employed in opening the road from the Loyalhanna westward toward Fort Duquesne. "Much as he had wrangled with Bouquet as to the propriety of making a new road, he was as good as his word and worked heroically for its success." 1758

From his sick-bed, Forbes wrote, on the fifteenth of October, to Bouquet: "Your description of the road pierces me to the very soul;" on the twentieth, to Pitt: "If the Weather does not favour, I shall be absolutely locked up in the Mountains;" and again to Bouquet: "These four days of constant rain have completely ruined the road. The waggons would cut it up more in an hour than we could repair in a week. I have written to General Abercromby, but have not had one scrape of a pen from him since the beginning of September; so it looks as if we were either

Diabolical Conditions

October 25



Letter by Washington, August 7, 1758

1758 forgot or left to our fate." Events had done much to justify Washington's candid statements concerning the new route; it seemed as if the "diabolical" condition of the road had stamped failure on the expedition.

Forbes Hastens Forward

Early in November, Forbes was carried from Raystown to Loyalhanna where a council of war determined that nothing more should be attempted that season. Here was an army of nearly six thousand shut up in the mountains, with no certainty of being able to secure supplies to keep man and beast alive through the winter that was near. A few days later, three prisoners gave information of the state of affairs at the French fort and Forbes ordered an advance without wagons, tents or baggage, and with but a few light pieces of artillery. On the eighteenth, twenty-five hundred picked men were hurried along the road that Washington had built to within about a day's march of the fort. Behind them was the general, carried on his litter. At midnight of the twenty-fourth, those who stood guard over the English camp among the hills of Turkey Creek near Braddock's fatal field heard a distant explosion. "Were the French welcoming the long-expected reinforcements from Presque Isle and Niagara—or had a magazine exploded?"

The End of Fort Duquesne

On the following day, the march was resumed with Forbes in his litter behind the strong advance-guard. As the English drew near the fort, they entered an Indian gauntlet-path, bordered on either hand by stakes stuck in the ground. Each stake bore the ghastly head of one of Grant's Highlanders and was girt about with a blood-smeared kilt that had been stripped from a victim of barbaric outrage. Every indignity that savage ingenuity could devise had been practised. When the Highlanders came in sight of the remains of their countrymen, their horror was heightened to madness by the kilted insult, for they knew that the Indians, in derision, had long before nicknamed them "petticoat warriors." With wrath unbounded and broadswords drawn they swiftly rushed by the provincials, swearing vengeance upon the authors and abbetors of what they had just seen. This

quickened the march of the whole army, but the High- 1758
land rage was impotent. The fort was in flames, and French and Redskins were beyond the reach of vengeance. The dragon of Saint George took the place of the lilies of France over the gateway to the West. The lost ground was never regained by the French.

Measures were hurriedly taken for holding the position Pittsburg
that had been won after so many years of effort. Huts and cabins were built on the banks of the Monongahela at the south end of the present West street and a stockade was drawn about them. The task of defending the temporary fortification was assigned to Lieutenant-colonel Hugh Mercer of the Virginians. He was given a force of about two hundred and eighty provincials — a garrison that was far too small and yet as large as could be fed. On the twenty-eighth of November, Washington wrote: "This fortunate, and, indeed, unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects. The Delawares are suing for peace, and I doubt not that other tribes on the Ohio will follow their example." With feeble hand, the now victorious Forbes wrote to the British secretary of state a letter the first words of which were

"Pittsbourgh $\frac{\text{th}}{27}$ Novem$^{\text{r}}$ 1758"

and it is Pittsburg to this day.

Meanwhile, the bodies of Grant's fallen Highlanders At Braddock Field
were buried and a party was sent to perform the last sad duty for those who had fallen under Braddock. With this party went Major Sir Peter Halket of the Forty-second, who had made the campaign to ascertain beyond all doubt the fate of his father and a brother who had been present on that disastrous day. Accompanied by a few Indians who had participated in the fight, the party made its way through the woods to the scene of the battle where they found abundant traces of the tragedy. Searching among the leaves that had been left by four successive autumns, they found two skeletons that resolved all doubts. The skeletons of father and son were buried in a single grave, and the bones of about four hundred

1758 soldiers were interred in a trench dug in the frozen ground.

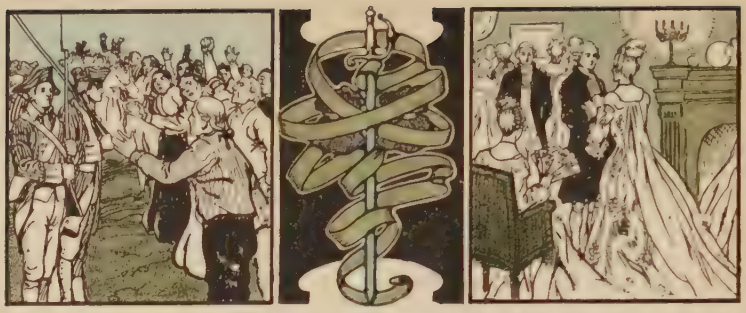
The Death of Forbes

Early in December, Forbes's troops, "with steps quickened by hunger," began their march eastward. The general was so weak that he had to be carried in his litter. He lived until he reached Philadelphia, lingered there between life and death for several weeks, and died in March—as much the hero as if he had fallen on the field of battle. "After God," wrote Bouquet, "the success of this expedition is entirely due to the General, who by bringing about the treaty with the Indians at Easton, struck the French a stunning blow, wisely delayed our advance to wait the effects of that treaty, secured all our posts, and left nothing to chance, and resisted the urgent solicitations to take Braddock's road, which would have been our destruction." "If his achievement was not brilliant," says Parkman, "its solid value was above price. It opened the Great West to English enterprise, took from France half her savage allies, and relieved the western borders from the scourge of Indian war. From southern New York to North Carolina, the frontier populations had cause to bless the memory of the steadfast and all-enduring soldier." Forbes's road became the great military highway and, for a generation, remained the most important thoroughfare to the West. It was later known as the Pennsylvania road and later still as the Chambersburg and Pittsburg turnpike, but the memory of the original designation is perpetuated in the name Forbes avenue, one of Pittsburg's principal thoroughfares.

At the End of the Year

"So ended the campaign of 1758. The centre of the French had held its own triumphantly at Ticonderoga; but their left had been forced back by the capture of Louisbourg, and their right by that of Duquesne, while their entire right wing had been well-nigh cut off by the destruction of Fort Frontenac. The outlook was dark. Their own Indians were turning against them." Even the hitherto sanguine Vaudreuil had become alarmed and declared that unless the war was quickly brought to an

end or heavy reinforcements were sent out the colony was lost. Doreil wrote to the minister of war: "Peace, Monseigneur, give us peace! Pardon me, but I cannot repeat that word too often." 1758



CHAPTER XII

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759—THE CONTESTANTS

Vaudreuil's Jealousy

THE victory of Montcalm at Ticonderoga stirred still deeper the malignant jealousy of Vaudreuil; bad was made worse by the fact that the battle had been won by troops of the line without much assistance from Canadian forces or Indian allies. In letters sent to France, Vaudreuil did everything in his power to belittle the success of his rival, declaring that defeat would have been certain had it not been for the interposition of Providence and that Montcalm had allowed the enemy to escape. After the retreat of Abercromby and when Montcalm was out of immediate danger, the governor sent Canadian and Indian reinforcements, but he purposely made his orders vague and indefinite so that whatever turn affairs took he would have an opportunity for censuring Montcalm. Thus, a few months later, Vaudreuil wrote: "It was my activity in sending these reinforcements to Carillon that forced the English to retreat. The Marquis de Montcalm might have made their retreat difficult, but it was in vain that I wrote to him; in vain that the colony troops, Canadians and Indians, begged him to pursue the enemy." The trick was transparent and a warm correspondence followed. There was much bitter controversy in private both by the principals and by their adherents and occasionally there were open clashes.

Montcalm and Madame

One such scene is described by Montcalm himself in a letter to his friend, Bourlamaque. In his own chateau, the governor renewed his threadbare complaint that the

general after taking Fort William Henry had not captured Fort Edward also. Montcalm again enumerated the reasons why he had not made the attempt. "In the end, with much moderation, I said to him," writes Montcalm, "that there was no use in repeating chimeras. . . . I concluded by modestly saying that when I went to war I did the best I could according to my feeble ability; that when one was not content with one's lieutenants, one should take the field in person and execute one's own ideas. Tears of wrath came into his eyes and he muttered between his teeth that perhaps he would. The conversation ended on my part by my saying that I should be delighted to serve under him. Madame de Vaudreuil then wanted to put in her word. I said: 'Madame, saving due respect, I have the honor to tell you that women ought not to talk war.' She wished to continue. I said: 'Madame, saving due respect, permit me to say that if Madame de Montcalm were here and heard me talking war with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, she would keep silence.' This scene was in the presence of eight officers, three of whom belong to the colony troops and a pretty story they will make of it."

1758

December 9

Montcalm Describes the Situation

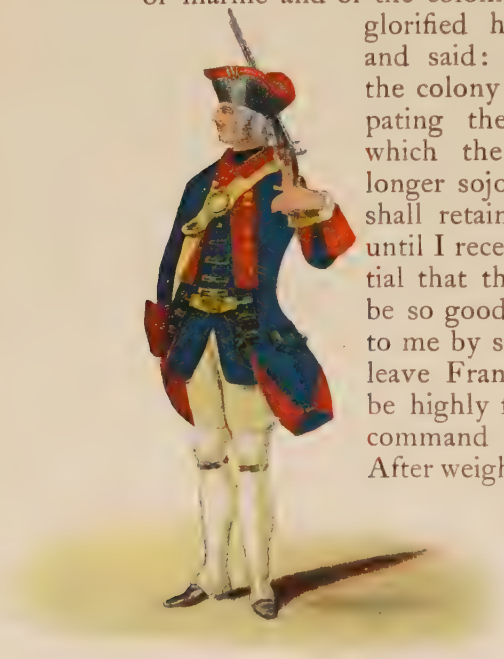
Montcalm, of course, was decidedly uncomfortable. "I should like as well as anybody to be a marshal of France, but to buy the honor with the life that I am leading here would be too much," he writes. After his victory at Ticonderoga, he had asked to be recalled, but after the fall of Fort Frontenac, he felt that it was his duty to remain and withdrew his request. Just before he received news of the evacuation of Fort Duquesne, he thus described the situation there: "Mutiny among the Canadians who want to come home; the officers busy making money and stealing like mandarins. Their commander sets the example and will come back with three or four hundred thousand francs; the pettiest ensign who does not gamble will have ten, twelve, or fifteen thousand. The Indians don't like Ligneris, who is drunk every day. . . . Forgive the confusion of this letter; I have not slept all night with thinking of the robberies

September 9

1758 and mismanagement, and folly. *Pauvre Roi, pauvre France, cara patria!*" "Oh, when shall we get out of this country!" he asks a little later. "I would give, I believe, half that I have to go home."

Vaudreuil Subordinated to Montcalm

Meanwhile Vaudreuil had renewed his efforts to secure the recall of Montcalm in favor of Lévis. On the fourth of August, he wrote to M. de Massiac, the new minister of marine and of the colonies, a long letter in which he glorified himself, belittled Montcalm, and said: "The king having confided the colony to me, I cannot avoid anticipating the unfortunate consequences which the Marquis de Montcalm's longer sojourn here might produce. I shall retain him with me next spring until I receive your orders. It is essential that they reach me early; you will be so good, my Lord, as to send them to me by several of the first ships that leave France. The regular troops will be highly flattered to remain under the command of the Chevalier de Lévis." After weighing Vaudreuil's words against Montcalm's deeds, the home government ordered the governor "to defer to Montcalm on all questions of war or of civil administration bearing upon war."



Uniform of a French Soldier, 1755

Realization

The long-suffering and somewhat optimistic Canadians had responded to the calls of the government with a loyalty that the peculations and exactions of Bigot and Cadet could not crush and with an alacrity that still kindles admiration. They had been misled by Vaudreuil's indefatigable lying and his chronic exaggeration of every success into a belief that they could not be subdued. For years, his flattering falsehoods and alluring promises of succor that never came had kept up the courage

of the people. But the reverses of the last campaign could not be concealed, and the poverty and distress of the colony could no longer be veiled by putting on an air of triumph. When the stimulus of real or fancied success was withdrawn, weariness and hunger were recognized as existing realities and "some incipient sense of atrocious misgovernment" worked its way into the consciousness of the community. "What a country!" exclaimed Montcalm. "Here all the knaves grow rich and the honest men are ruined." "We must not flatter ourselves with vain hope; Canada is lost if we do not have peace this winter," wrote Doreil, the colonial commissary of war. Even the governor confessed that "the people are alarmed and would lose courage if my firmness did not rekindle their zeal to serve the King." 1758

Vaudreuil's Duplicity

Upon one question the two rivals were agreed: the situation of the colony was so grave that assistance must be furnished from France or all was lost. Accordingly, they decided to send a special envoy to Paris. Bougainville was selected, and Doreil who was going to France on a private errand was instructed to support the appeals of the aide-de-camp. Vaudreuil knew that both Bougainville and Doreil were Montcalm partisans. In a letter introducing Bougainville to the minister of marine, he wrote that the envoy was in all respects better fitted than any one else to give information concerning the condition of the colony; "you can trust entirely in what he tells you." Concerning Doreil, he wrote to the minister of war: "I have full confidence in him and he may be entirely trusted. Everybody here likes him." In a private letter to the minister of marine, Vaudreuil said that, in compliance with the desires of Montcalm "and to neglect no means of keeping in harmony with him, I have accorded letters of credence to Monsieurs Doreil and Bougainville, but I have the honor to inform you, Monseigneur, that these gentlemen do not understand the colony and its interests well enough to speak with authority." To this he added that both were creatures of Montcalm and would endeavor to belittle the serv-

1758 ices of the colonial forces in order to exalt those of the
1759 troops of the line. With such credentials, the two envoys sailed on different vessels hoping that one at least might escape the English cruisers and reach his destination.

Bougainville's Testimony

Just before he set out from the unhappy colony, Bougainville wrote in his journal: "In spite of the exigency of an extreme peril, the Great Society, more powerful than the governor-general, instead of distributing the munitions according to the needs of the frontier, caused them by preference to be carried to Niagara and Toronto. Everybody sees and knows it, the cry is universal. But what does it matter to these extortioners who enjoy authority? Separated from the throne by fifteen hundred leagues, certain of present impunity because they have accomplices even in the sanctuary of supreme power, they have accustomed the people to everything and to be the instrument of their fortunes." Within ten years, he says, the face of the country has been completely changed. Before that time all were happy, because they led a simple, Arcadian existence and had an abundance of the necessaries of life. Then Verres arrived and ruin began. He and his associates waxed in power until they absorbed all commerce, consumed the colony, played with the lives of men, and proved by far more dangerous within than was the enemy without.

Montcalm's Testimony

April 12, 1759

In April, Montcalm wrote to Marshal Belle-Isle: "Our government is good for nothing. . . . The people are dispirited. . . . M. Bigot appears to be occupied only in amassing a fortune for himself, his adherents, and sycophants. . . . Everybody appears to be in a hurry to make his fortune before the colony is lost. The agreements with the contractors are as unknown to me as they are to the public. . . . Is artillery to be transported, guns, carriages, or implements made; M. Mercier, commandant of artillery, is the contractor under other peoples' names. Everything is done badly and at high prices. This officer, who came out twenty years ago as a private soldier, will be worth perhaps a million if

these things continue." In the meantime, Vaudreuil was reporting to the home government that Bigot was "full of zeal for the service of the king." 1759

But Versailles was beginning to realize the corruption that was rampant in New France; a day of reckoning was at hand. Berryer, who had succeeded De Massiac, wrote to Bigot: "I have perceived in the account called for by me of what has been done for some years back, that people are in the habit of consuming without economy, without order, and without any precaution for the king's interests. How, for example, is it possible that the small-pox among the Indian nations of the upper country should have occasioned extraordinary expenses to the amount of a million? By whom has this expense been incurred? Is it by the commanding officers at the posts? Is it by the storekeepers? You do not enter into any detail on this point. Every one, then, is at liberty to distribute the king's property and the matter is gotten rid of by passing it to the account of waste. I confess to you that this manner of administration is very extraordinary. . . . I perceive that in addition to the immense supplies that arrived last year in Canada and that ought to have sufficed to furnish all these posts, purchases of considerable parcels of goods are made at those very posts from private persons; I cannot infer from this manœuver anything else than that the king's property is considered consumed on its arrival and that it is afterwards resold to his Majesty at excessive rates. By this operation, the king buys in France and repurchases the same effects in the colony. I am no longer astonished that immense fortunes are seen in Canada." Later letters were still more menacing and an agent of the government was sent out from Bordeaux to make an investigation. How some of the thieves were finally punished for their misdeeds and forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains will be told in a later chapter.

Bigot Under Examination

January 19

The condition of the common people was deplorable. Since the spring of 1758, about three-fourths of the able-bodied men of the colony had been kept from their fields

Condition of the Habitants

1758 1759 either to fight or to assist in the transportation of troops and supplies. What grain had been sown had been harvested too late; granaries, barns, and stables were nearly empty; a large proportion of the horses had been killed for food. The price of many articles was eight or ten times as high as before the war began, and the country was flooded with intendant's orders and depreciated paper money. The habitants, accustomed to seeing what little grain they had seized in the name of the king, took to hiding it lest they die of hunger. At the end of the campaign, they who were not poverty-blessed were forced to lodge and feed the troops at the rate of ten sous a day—a pitiful compensation "for substance devoured and wives and daughters debauched."

The Smart Set

While the poor were dying of cold and hunger, "la Grande Société" continued to be as gay and unscrupulous as ever. Dinners, balls, gambling, and love-making were as much the fashion as in less threatening times. The scandalous behavior of those high in official position was openly and fearlessly denounced by the bishop of Quebec but to little effect. "The last sounds of the fêtes escaping from the intendant's palace were drowned only by the noise of cannon."

Promotions and Decorations

December, 1758

Meanwhile Doreil and Bougainville, escaping the English cruisers, had crossed the wintry Atlantic and reached Versailles. There the young aide-de-camp zealously paid court to Madame de Pompadour, interviewed the ministers and the king, and submitted memorials that set forth the weakness of the colony and its dire need of help. The court was prodigal of honors and promotions. Montcalm was made lieutenant-general; Lévis, major-general; Bourlamaque and Senezergues, brigadiers; Bougainville, colonel and chevalier of Saint Louis; and Vaudreuil was given the grand cross of that order. But in the matter of material assistance little was done. Tired of Bougainville's importunities and prejudiced against him by Vaudreuil's secret warning, Berryer, the minister of marine, said to him: "Monsieur, when the house is on fire, one does not trouble one's self about the stable."

Material Assistance

Three or four hundred recruits, some engineers, a few artillerymen, workmen, and armorers, with some arms, munitions, and scanty supplies for the coming campaign constituted all the assistance that the court would render. In the spring of 1759, Bougainville again crossed the Atlantic with a squadron that bore these supplies and reinforcements. "A little is precious to those who have nothing," said Montcalm. 1759

France Not Able to Send Aid

The distrust of the envoys that had been sown by Vaudreuil, the absorption of French energies in the continental conflict and in chimerical schemes for the invasion of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the enormous and ever-growing expense that the colony entailed had combined to bring about the failure of the mission. The truth is that France was not able to render much assistance; the colony was not abandoned from pure neglect and indifference. The British navy, more powerful than ever before, swept the seas and guarded the mouth of the Saint Lawrence. Marshal de Belle-Isle, the minister of war, wrote to Montcalm: "As regards your duty during this campaign, I am very sorry to have to inform you that you must not expect to receive any military reinforcements. Besides augmenting the scarcity of provisions that you have only too much experienced up to the present time, it is much to be feared that they would be intercepted by the English on the passage; and as the king could never send you assistance proportionate to the forces that the English are able to oppose against you, the efforts made here would have no other effect than to excite the ministry of London to much greater efforts." February 19

An Unnecessary Sermon

In the same letter, the marshal sent directions for the conduct of the campaign. "As it is to be expected that the entire efforts of the English will be directed against Canada and that they will attack you at different points at once, it will be necessary that you confine your plan of defense to the places that are most essential and most closely connected, in order that, being concentrated on a smaller extent of country, each part may always be within

1759 reach of support from the others. However trifling the space you can hold, it is of the utmost importance always to have a foothold in Canada, for should we once wholly lose that country, its recovery would be almost impossible. To fulfil this object, the king reckons, Sir, on your zeal, courage, and persistency. The king expects that you will exercise all the industry of which you are capable and that you will communicate these sentiments to your chief officers and with them to the troops under your orders. M. Berryer writes to the same effect to M. de Vaudreuil and directs him to conduct himself with the greatest harmony towards you; you must both feel all its necessity and all its importance. I have become responsible for you to the king. I am well assured that you will not dishonor me, and that, for the good of the state, the glory of the nation, and your own preservation, you will go to the greatest extremities rather than ever submit to conditions so disgraceful as those accepted at Louisburg, the memory of which you will efface."

Vaudreuil's Valor

In conformity to the information given to the general by the minister of war, Vaudreuil received a repetition of the order to defer to Montcalm on all questions of war with the added restriction that he should not take command in person except when all the militia was called out and not even then without consulting the general. This "detested order" drove Vaudreuil into something like revolt against the ministerial command. In a valorous declaration, he replied: "If the English attack Quebec, I shall always hold myself free to go thither myself with most of the troops and all the militia and Indians I can assemble. On arriving, I shall give battle to the enemy; and I shall do so again and again, till I have forced him to retire, or till he has entirely crushed me by excessive superiority of numbers. . . . If I succeed as I wish, I shall next march to Carillon to arrest him there."

April 8

An Account of Stock

Thus, with her prayers unanswered, New France, weak and almost disheartened, faced the momentous campaign of 1759. At the French court, Bougainville had explained that Canada had been saved thus far by the dissensions

of the English colonies, but that now they were united and prepared to put forth their strength. It was believed that the English would attack the colony with at least fifty thousand troops. The force with which these must be opposed was pitiably small. From a census of the governments of Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers it appeared that there were only a few more than thirteen thousand able-bodied male Canadians, to which should be added thirty-five hundred troops of the line, fifteen hundred colonial regulars, a small body of irregulars in Acadia, the militia and *coureurs-de-bois* of the upper lakes, and the one or two thousand Indians who still remained loyal. Nothing can better show the extremity of the situation than Montcalm's proposed last resort—to abandon the valley of the Saint Lawrence, to descend the Mississippi with his troops and as many as possible of the inhabitants, and to make a last stand for France among the swamps of Louisiana. 1759

The Call

Despite the heavy odds, the French did not despair. Vaudreuil sent out circular letters calling upon the people to rise against the heretics who were coming to destroy them. "The good and brave Bishop, Henri de Pontbriand, issued a stirring mandement, in which he fearlessly exposed the prevailing corruption, and called on the faithful to repent and obey the call to arms." The habitants responded nobly; hardly a man held back. Pouchot, with a bare one thousand men, was to hold Fort Niagara. De la Corne with twelve hundred was to intrench himself at the rapids of the Saint Lawrence and prevent an advance from the direction of Fort Ontario. Bourlamaque with three battalions was to delay the English advance by way of Lake Champlain. Montcalm himself, with Lévis and the remaining forces, was to defend Quebec, the key to all. Remembering the many waves of invasion that, in years gone by, had beaten vainly upon New France, the French hoped that good fortune, or Providence, or English blunders would enable them to hold out until the snows of another winter brought them respite.

1759 Pitt in Power

Thanks to William Pitt, a new spirit was abroad in the British empire. In the last campaign, British arms had won some successes in America, the French had been driven from the Guinea coast while, in Germany, the king of Prussia had held his own. When parliament met late in November, England was aglow with enthusiasm. Pitt was omnipotent. "Our unanimity is prodigious," wrote Horace Walpole. "You would as soon hear a 'No' from an old maid as from the House of Commons." Despite the unprecedented expense, the war was to be carried on more vigorously than ever. Financial aid was to be sent to King Frederick; the British navy was to continue to capture more French vessels and to threaten the French coast; the colonial possessions of France were to be wrested from her and her commercial aspirations crushed.

Uniform of British Soldier of the Forty-eighth Regiment of Foot, 1742–64

Pitt's Plan for the Campaign in America

Pitt intended that the heaviest blow should be struck in America. The operations there were to be along two lines, which were eventually to meet in coöperation. An army of twelve thousand men under Wolfe and a fleet consisting of one-fourth of the British navy were to ascend

the Saint Lawrence and attack Quebec. A second army under Amherst, who was now commander-in-chief in place of the incompetent Abercromby, was to advance by way of lakes George and Champlain, sending a detachment to secure Lake Ontario and endeavoring to arrive at Quebec in time to assist Wolfe in administering the *coup-de-grâce*. Large reinforcements of regulars were sent over ocean and every effort was made to secure colonial assistance for what it was hoped would be the final expedition against New France. 1759

To Do or Die

Montcalm had long foreseen the crisis and was under no illusions. In February, before he knew of the failure of his appeals for help, he asked: "Who knows [*qui diable sait*] where we shall all be on the first of November, 1759?" In April, before Bougainville's return, he wrote to his wife: "Can we hope for another miracle to save us? I trust in God; he fought for us on the eighth of July. Come what may, His will be done. . . . I await the news from France with impatience and dread. We have had none for eight months and who knows if much can reach us at all this year? How dearly I have to pay for the privilege of figuring two or three times in the gazettes!" But with all his forebodings he was determined to do his utmost. In reply to Belle-Isle he wrote: "I shall do everything to save this unhappy colony, or die."

Love and Loyalty

In addition to his political errand, Bougainville had been intrusted with another mission, equally delicate—that of arranging marriages for Montcalm's eldest son and daughter. With the assistance of a lady of rank who was a friend of the family, he performed his task with great discretion; before spring, Mademoiselle Montcalm was Madame d'Espineuse and negotiations were on foot for the marriage of her brother to a young heiress. At the last moment before sailing from France, Bougainville heard that another daughter was dead; which one, he could not learn. "I think," said Montcalm, "that it must be poor Mirète, who was like me, and whom I loved very much." He did not live to learn whether

1759 his conjecture was correct or not. Amid the ceaseless turmoil of preparation for the coming campaign, the husband and father often thought of his home and family far away at Candiac. "I would renounce all the honors in the world to join you again," he wrote to his wife; "but the king must be obeyed. The day I see you again will be the brightest of my life. Adieu, my heart; I believe I love you more than ever."

CHAPTER XIII

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759—ON LAKES CHAMPLAIN AND ONTARIO

What Pitt Expected

AS a part of the English plan for the campaign of 1759, General Amherst was to advance by way of lakes George and Champlain and to be in Canada with his army in time to join forces with General Wolfe for the capture of Quebec. As accessory to this movement, Brigadier-general Stanwix was to lead a force to relieve Pittsburg from a threatened attack by the wild hordes of the Northwest, and Brigadier-general John Prideaux was to reëstablish the post at Oswego and capture Fort Niagara.

Prideaux and Johnson

With an army of about five thousand white men, and six hundred Indians under the lead of Sir William Johnson, Prideaux ascended the Mohawk, and, late in June, arrived at the ruins of Oswego. Leaving Colonel Frederick Haldimand of the Royal Americans, countryman, friend, and companion of Henry Bouquet, and about a thousand men to fortify the site of old Fort Ontario, Prideaux embarked the remainder of his army in whale- July 1
boats and bateaux and advanced against Fort Niagara. Knowing the probability that the French would make a dash upon him with the hope of seizing Oswego and thus cutting off the return of Prideaux from Niagara, Haldimand barricaded his camp with barrels of pork and flour and began the building of a fort.

Two days before Prideaux's departure from Oswego, La Corne, who was stationed at the rapids of the Saint

1759 La Corne Attacks Oswego

Lawrence, set out from La Présentation with a force of two hundred and forty regulars, eight hundred and twenty militia, and a hundred and ten Indians, mostly Iroquois, to attack the English. At eleven o'clock in the evening

Map of the Two Highways to Canada

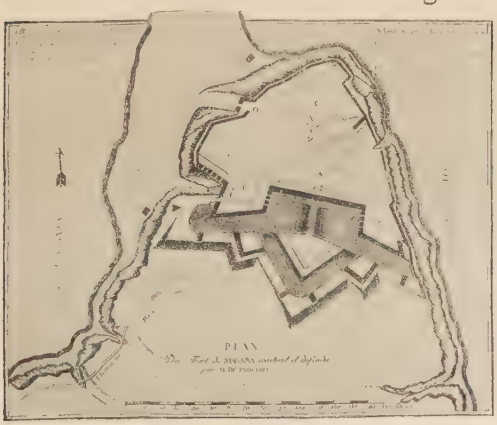
of the fourth of July and without having been discovered, he landed at the cove where Montcalm had disembarked his artillery three years before. At dawn, he divided his force into nine columns and advanced through the forest. The Indians who led the way discovered a party of English cutting trees in the edge of the woods, and sixty men, half of whom were French, made a detour to cut them

off. But just then, some of the Canadians on the left, seeing probably some of their own men among the trees, were seized with a panic and fled, crying: "*Sauve qui peut!* We are surrounded!" So great was the disorder that Abbé Piquet, who had come as chaplain, was knocked down while endeavoring to rally the men. 1759

La Corne Saint Luc

Hearing the tumult, the English ran to arms and, before order was restored among the French, the chance for a surprise was lost. After reconnoitering the English position, La Corne and his officers decided that it was too strong to be carried, but the Indians and some of the Canadians and soldiers hid themselves behind logs and stumps and opened a long-distance fire. This method of attack was continued next morning when a party tried to destroy the English boats. By this time, Haldimand had mounted three cannons that opened fire with such effect that the attempt upon the boats was given up. The besieging force withdrew after having suffered a loss of about thirty killed and wounded. Among the latter was La Corne who was shot in the thigh. The English lost three killed and twelve wounded.

Haldimand Defeats La Corne



Pouchot's Map of Fort Niagara

Since Bradstreet's destruction of the French naval force on Lake Ontario in 1758, two armed vessels had been built on the Saint Lawrence. Using these both as transports and as cruisers the French had

At Fort Niagara

THE REGION OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

been able to reëstablish their communication with Fort Niagara. Prideaux was lucky enough not to fall in with these vessels on the lake and, on the sixth of July, landed near the French stronghold that stood upon the tip of the tongue of land between Niagara River and Lake Ontario. This Fort Niagara, commanded by Captain Pouchot who lately had rebuilt it, was well supplied with provisions and munitions of war and held a garrison of nearly five hundred men and about twoscore non-combatant employees. Further up the river, about a mile and a half above the great cataract, stood a smaller wooden fort called Little Niagara and commanded by the half-breed Joncaire-Chabert who, with his brother Joncaire-Clauzonne, had long exercised a strong influence over the Iroquois. The recent English victories had weakened Joncaire's influence, and his great rival, Sir William Johnson, was in Prideaux's camp with Iroquois warriors who had come to fight against the French. Little Niagara, being untenable against a large force equipped with artillery, was abandoned and burned and the garrison of about sixty men took refuge in Fort Niagara. 1759

Prideaux Killed

The English vainly summoned the fort on the ninth and, that night, opened their first parallel at a distance of about six hundred yards. One of the French vessels greatly impeded the operations by bombarding Prideaux's camp and the English engineers so laid out the trenches that they furnished little protection against the French artillery. Prideaux was disgusted and MacLeane, an officer of the Highlanders, wrote to Haldimand at Oswego that the engineers were "fools and blockheads" and damned them in good round English. The trenches were made anew and, in a few days, the batteries were ready and the bombardment was begun. On the nineteenth, a bomb from one of the English mortars burst prematurely and a fragment struck Prideaux on the head, killing him instantly. The command then devolved upon Johnson who pushed the siege with such energy that, by the twenty-fourth, the fort had been breached and more than a hundred of the garrison killed or wounded; the fire

1759 was so hot that the Canadians could no longer be persuaded to expose themselves at the loopholes.

Help for Pouchot

But Pouchot did not despair for he knew that reinforcements were on the way. For some weeks, bands of French and Indians from the West, under such able leaders as Ligneris, Marin, Montigny, Aubry, and Villiers, had been gathering at Le Bœuf, Venango, and Presque Isle for the purpose of recapturing Pittsburg and restoring French ascendancy on the Ohio. Pouchot had sent some of his "bare 1000" to assist in the enterprise. As soon as he knew that the English were about to attack him, Pouchot sent a courier to summon these bands to his assistance. On the morning of the twenty-third, four Indians reached the fort with the news that Ligneris and Aubry were approaching with a force that they estimated at six hundred French and a thousand red allies. By the same messengers, Pouchot sent back word describing the condition of the fort and the position of the besiegers.

Map of Niagara River

An Extraordinary Horde

July 23

On the same day, Aubry and Ligneris with their motley, varicolored host of Indians, colony troops, traders, and *coureurs-de-bois* landed on the eastern side of the Niagara River, left their canoes on an island under guard, marched along the bank of the river, and camped that night within sight of the falls. "Of all the hordes ever assembled under the banners of France," says Casgrain, "this was certainly one of the most extraordinary ever seen, by reason of the great diversity of tribes and dialects, of customs and arms, of songs and war-dances. It included the most

incongruous elements, from the elegant Frenchman from the banks of the Seine or of the Rhone to the aboriginal hunter of the buffalo from the Mississippi; from the Canadian gentleman inured to the chase to the half-breed decorating his long hair with the plumes of birds and proud of his tattooed body as well as the scalps swinging from his belt. And all this spectacle was displayed in view of one of the greatest wonders of the world." 1759

Preparing a Reception

Meanwhile Sir William Johnson had been warned of their approach and had made preparations to receive them. He left part of his army in charge of the bateaux, kept another part concealed in the trenches, and sent Colonel Massey with the rest to oppose the oncoming Indians and bushrangers. Massey's force consisted of a hundred and fifty men of the forty-sixth regiment, two companies of grenadiers, the provincial light infantry, the pickets, and the Iroquois, who now numbered about nine hundred. Aubry and Ligneris had a force variously reported at from twelve to twenty-eight hundred. The English disposed themselves behind an abbatis upon the portage road and the Iroquois placed themselves in the woods on the flanks.

The Reception

On the morning of the twenty-fourth, there was a parley between the Indian allies of the French and those of the English, but nothing came of it and the fight began. Both sides fought stubbornly. The English had the advantage of intrenchments and suffered much less severely than the French. Attacked in the rear by the Iroquois and charged in front by the English, the assailants finally broke and fled in wild disorder, leaving about two hundred killed and about a hundred prisoners in the hands of the victors. The French officers had fought with the greatest desperation and only three escaped; all the rest were killed or taken, many of the captured being wounded. The fragments of the defeated force fled to their canoes above the falls, passed up Lake Erie, destroyed the forts at Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango, and, with the garrisons of these places, retreated to Detroit, leaving the whole upper Ohio region "without

1759 a fighting Frenchman"—to the great relief of the little English garrison at Fort Pitt.

The Incredulous Pouchot

Pouchot and his garrison had been distant spectators of a part of the fight and had endeavored to effect a diversion by a sally to destroy the English works. The English artillery was keeping quiet and the English trenches seemed to be deserted—as if all the English army had gone to meet the longed-for reinforcements. But when Pouchot's volunteers approached the trenches, they found that they were thronged with men and bristling with bayonets and prudently retired to the fort. Still Pouchot supposed the conflict much less serious than it really was and when, in the afternoon, a friendly Indian brought in news of the disaster, he was incredulous. Two hours later, Johnson sent in a flag of truce with an account of his victory, a badly misspelled list of the prisoners, and a demand for surrender. Pouchot still refused to acknowledge that he believed the news and asked that one of his officers be allowed to visit the prisoners and see for himself. The request was granted and Captain de Cervies was conducted to an arbor near Johnson's tent, where, to his great distress, he saw Aubry, Ligneris, Marin, Montigny, Villiers, and other officers, some of them fatally wounded.

Pouchot Surrenders

Nothing now remained for Pouchot but surrender, for the fort had been so badly battered as to be practically untenable, only a hundred and forty muskets remained serviceable, most of the cannon-balls had been shot away, only about three hundred men remained fit for service, and these were in a state bordering on mutiny. By the articles of capitulation, which were signed on the twenty-fifth, the French were to be given the honors of war, protected from the Indians, and sent as prisoners to New York. The few women and children and the chaplain were to be escorted to the nearest French post. Remembering what had happened at Fort William Henry, Pouchot had his men retain their arms until the moment of embarkation and told them what to do if one of them was attacked by an Indian.

The fort was plundered, but Johnson restrained his Iroquois and there was no massacre and only one recorded murder. Among the Indian allies of the English was one who had been on terms of close friendship with a French cadet named Moncourt. Seeing his friend a prisoner, the warrior expressed great sorrow and took quick action. "Brother," said he, "I shall feel very sad at seeing you dead, but be tranquil, I wish only to prevent them from torturing you." So saying, he slew his friend with a blow of his tomahawk. 1759 Philosophy

In August, Johnson was superseded by General Thomas Gage whom Amherst instructed to take command on Lake Ontario, descend the Saint Lawrence, capture the French posts at the head of the rapids, hold them for the winter, and thus to give another turn to the screw that was squeezing Vaudreuil and Montcalm in central Canada. But Gage was not a soldier of the dashing type; with probable good reason, he reported that he was too weak to attempt such a move. For the remainder of the year, there was no important action in the Lake Ontario region. Gage Takes Command

Johnson's July success was of great importance. The capture of Fort Niagara completely cut off the French posts on the upper lakes and the Mississippi from Canada and left them in helpless isolation. La Corne reported that if the English marched against him he would be unable to hold his position at the rapids. After a council of war, Montcalm and Vaudreuil, who had already received news of the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, decided to send Lévis with eight hundred men up the river to assist, as he thought best, either La Corne whose post was on the upper Saint Lawrence or Bourlamaque who was at the Isle aux Noix in the outlet of Lake Champlain. Thus, at a critical moment, this able officer and men who could ill be spared were withdrawn from the force that was soon to meet Wolfe and his veterans in the decisive grapple. The Isolation of the West August 9

Meanwhile General Amherst had, after long delays, moved from Albany along the rough forest road to the

1759 Amherst's Advance

old assembly place at the head of Lake George where, by the third week in July, he had collected two thousand Highlanders, four thousand regulars, and five thousand provincials. On the site of the intrenched camp that Montcalm had captured two years before, he began a new fortification that he called Fort George. Before it was

Plan of Fort George

July 21

finished, he embarked his army and moved down the lake to attack Ticonderoga. Again the forest-clad mountains looked down upon a magnificent spectacle of flags and men in brilliant uniforms and resounded with the strains of martial music. But Abercromby was not in command as he was the year before and presumptuous exultation had given way to resolute determination—a better augur of success. By sunset, the flotilla was near the lower end of the lake and there it lay during the night, tossed about on waves raised by a summer storm that was accompanied by rain. In the morning of the twenty-second of July, Brigadier Thomas Gage disembarked with an advance-guard of light infantry and rangers,

marched along the portage path to the sawmill at the rapids, and the rest of the troops followed. The French offered but slight resistance to their progress and, by evening, the English were before the lines that those who had been with Abercromby had good reason to remember. 1759

The French army consisted of about twenty-six hundred men, including three hundred Indians, and was therefore almost as large as Montcalm's army of the year before. But the French well knew that essential conditions were very different: long before this, Bourlamaque had been instructed not to attempt to hold either the intrenchments or the fort. At midnight, under cover of a heavy rain and fog, he embarked with most of his troops, leaving in the fort a garrison of about four hundred men under Captain d'Hebecourt with orders to blow it up and to retire as soon as the English had erected their first batteries. Bourlamaque encamped about two and a half leagues down Lake Champlain and awaited the arrival of the garrison. Bourlamaque Retires July 22-23

In the morning, Amherst learned that the French had withdrawn from Montcalm's famous wooden wall. He at once encamped behind the abandoned lines which had been completely reconstructed and now afforded the English army an excellent shelter from the fire of the French fort. Guns were mounted and siege-works were begun. The French garrison defended themselves vigorously for four days. In the night of the twenty-sixth, they loaded the cannons to the muzzle, set a slow match to the magazine, evacuated the fort at ten o'clock, and embarked in boats with their arms and baggage. Three deserters soon arrived in the English camp with the news, and Amherst vainly offered a reward of a hundred guineas to any one of them who would point out the burning fuse. About midnight, an immense sheaf of light shot toward the heavens, a frightful detonation followed, and the fragments of one of the bastions went hurtling into the air. By the light of the fire that the explosion kindled, the English saw that the French flag was still waving on the rampart and a sergeant, braving the danger of other Fort Ticonderoga Destroyed

1759 explosions and the cannons that, from time to time, were set off by the fire, managed to secure the trophy.

The Promise

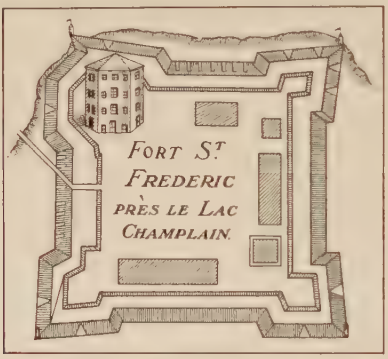
Amherst was a very prudent man. When he heard of Prideaux's death at Niagara, he sent Gage thither to take command of the Lake Ontario department and soon

August 1

wrote to him: "We must all be alert and active day and night; if we all do our parts, the French must fall." He then began to repair the abandoned works and was get-

August 1

ting ready for a cautious advance, when he learned that the French had also abandoned and blown up the defenses at Crown Point and had retreated still further down the lake. Bourlamaque's superiors had decided long before that he should make his stand at the Isle aux Noix in the river at the northern end of Lake Champlain and there defend himself to the last extremity. Much pleased, Amherst took possession of the fortress and, in the exultation of the moment, seemed inclined to come out of his usual deliberation and "to make an irruption into Canada with the utmost vigor and despatch."



Plan of Fort Saint Frederick at Crown Point

The Performance

Such a course was highly desirable, for Wolfe was before Quebec and anxious for Amherst's coming. Two causes prevented the latter from making the promised "irruption;" one was his habitual slowness and caution, the other was the presence on Lake Champlain of four armed French vessels that, in accordance with Montcalm's advice, had been built for such an emergency. One of these vessels was a schooner that mounted ten 4-pounders; the other three were called "chebecs" and each mounted eight guns of the same caliber. For the time being, therefore, Amherst confined himself to urging Gage to an active campaign, to building one large and three smaller forts at Crown Point, to sending out

exploring parties, to making safe his rear by building roads from Crown Point to Ticonderoga and across what is now Vermont to Fort Number Four on the Connecticut River—industry that was untiring and work that was doubtless useful, but of no aid to Wolfe at Quebec who was in sore need of Amherst's thousands. It was not what Pitt expected. More to the purpose, Amherst began the building of a little navy with which to obtain command of the lake. This last mentioned work proceeded very slowly, for the sawmill at the falls, overtasked with sawing timbers for the new fort at Crown Point, was continually breaking down. The autumn was well advanced before the vessels, a brigantine, a sloop, and a floating battery propelled by sweeps, were in readiness. 1759

Rogers's Expedition Against Saint Francis

While his army tarried at Crown Point, Amherst sent Robert Rogers with a force of about two hundred rangers on a punitive expedition against the Abenakis of Saint Francis, nominal Christians who had long been the scourge of the New England border and had recently seized two officers sent to them under a flag of truce. Their settlement was on the Saint Francis River a few miles above its junction with the Saint Lawrence. On the day when Wolfe and Montcalm fought their decisive battle on the Plains of Abraham, Rogers and his men set out in sixteen whale-boats for Missisquoi Bay at the north end of Lake Champlain. There they hid the boats, leaving two Indians to watch them, and began their march toward Saint Francis. Late on the second day of the march, the two Indians overtook them with the news that a party of two hundred French were in pursuit. Bourlamaque had been vigilant. Instead of giving up the expedition as a more timid leader might have done, Rogers determined to outmarch the enemy, destroy the village before the alarm could be given, and then return by way of Lake Memphremagog and the Connecticut River. After sending a request to Amherst that provisions be sent up the Connecticut to meet him on his way down, he marched for nine days through woods and swamps and, late in the afternoon of the tenth day, was

September 13

September 23

October 3

1759 within three miles of the village. He viewed the settlement from the top of a tree and, with Lieutenant Turner and Ensign Elias Avery, went forward to reconnoiter the place. Alone and disguised as an Indian, he entered the village and saw the unsuspecting red men "yelling and singing in the full enjoyment of a grand dance." At two o'clock in the morning, he rejoined the one hundred and forty officers and men—all that fatigue, sickness, and accidents had left of his party.

The Town Destroyed

Just before sunrise, Rogers attacked the village and took the Indians completely by surprise. Many of the warriors were absent and the rest of the inhabitants made little resistance. The rangers killed many ("at least two hundred," says Rogers; "about thirty," say the French accounts), took twenty women and children prisoners, fifteen of whom he released, rescued five English captives, and looted and burned the town, including the church. Probably the sight of hundreds of English scalps "dangling from poles over the doors of the houses" added to the thoroughness with which they did their work, although Amherst had given orders to "Remember the barbarities that have been committed by the enemy's Indian scoundrels. Take your revenge."

The Return

Learning from his prisoners that two large parties of French and Indians were not far distant, Rogers hurriedly retreated up the Saint Francis River; there was no time to lose. Near the eastern border of Lake Memphremagog, the supply of corn gave out and Rogers divided his men into small parties that they might the better sustain life by hunting. The enemy were in hot pursuit and killed or captured nearly all of the band of twenty led by Lieutenants Dunbar and Turner, and captured five of the party led by Ensign Avery. Worn with hunger and fatigue, the survivors worked their way to the Connecticut River sustained by the expectation of finding food at the mouth of the Ammonoosuc, the place named by Rogers in the request he had sent to Amherst. At the appointed rendezvous, the famished pilgrims found fires still burning but nothing to eat. The party that Amherst had

sent found nobody at the mouth of the Ammonoosuc, waited two days, and then went back carrying the provisions down the river with them. The rangers were now in a terrible plight. Game was exceedingly scarce and the few lily bulbs and groundnuts that the men could find were scant and miserable resources. Rogers says that "it is hardly possible to describe our grief and consternation" and some gave themselves up to despair. Leaving the main body of his rangers with a promise to return as soon as possible, Rogers, with two men and one of the captive Indian boys, drifted down the river on a raft and, after terrible privations, reached fort "Number Four" (Charlestown) five days later. Thence he sent back a canoe loaded with provisions and, having recovered sufficient strength, followed with other canoes two days later. Most of the men were saved but some of them died of exhaustion and starvation. Those made captive on the retreat "became victims of the fury of the Indian women."

1759

Famine and Fatigue

Seven days after the destruction of the village of Saint Francis by Rogers and his rangers, the English fleet on Lake Champlain, followed by the army, set forth to find the enemy. The French vessels made practically no resistance. One of them succeeded in escaping, one was run aground, and two were sunk by their own crews who managed to escape into the woods. The victory did not, however, lead to anything decisive. On the evening of the twelfth, a northeast wind began to blow and forced

Wind and Winter Quarters

October 11

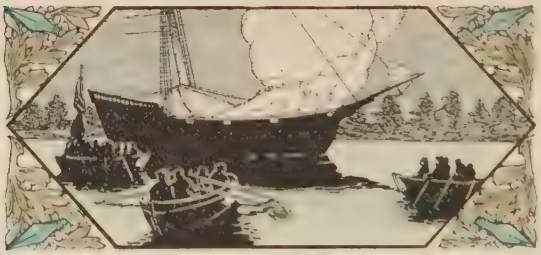
Crown Point Ruins

the English to land at Ligonier Bay. The gale continued for several days, making the lake so rough that advance was impossible; when it abated, winter was at hand and

1759 October 18 October 19–21 Amherst, having heard of the surrender of Quebec, decided that the season was too far advanced to attempt anything further. He returned with his army to Crown Point where he busied himself completing the massive and expensive fort the ruins of which still interest the tourist.

Found Wanting

If none of the English generals had accomplished more in this campaign than did Amherst, the conquest of New France would have been long delayed. He had occupied two fortresses that had long been thorns in the side of the English, but he had inflicted no crushing blow upon the army that opposed him and he had not effected the diversion that was expected of him. A more far-sighted general would, in the preceding spring or winter, have built on South Bay the vessels the construction of which so long delayed his advance; a bolder one might have attempted to capture the French flotilla by a desperate attack made from open boats. But happily for England and her colonies, the mastery of North America had already been decided by other men and upon another field.



CHAPTER XIV

WOLFE AND SAUNDERS BEFORE QUEBEC

Wolfe

JAMES WOLFE, the man whom Pitt had selected to solve the Quebec problem, was the son of an officer who had fought under Marlborough and who died a lieutenant-general in the English army. His mother was a pious gentle lady to whose training the son owed much of his unaffected reverence for religion and the restless sense of duty that made him such a contrast to most of the soldiers of his day. He was born in the quiet village of Westerham in the county of Kent on the second of January, 1727. At Swinden's in Greenwich, he was a fellow student with "Jack" Jervis, the future admiral and Lord Saint Vincent. In his school-days he showed no remarkable precocity, but appears to have been an ordinary lad, of feeble constitution, impetuous and somewhat headstrong, with great fondness for his parents and a taste for his father's profession.

Home of General Wolfe

A Young Officer

In 1740, his father was appointed adjutant-general of the unsuccessful expedition against Cartagena and it was intended that James, then thirteen years of age, should

1740 accompany him, but an opportune illness prevented. In
1751 the following year, James was made a second lieutenant in his father's regiment of marines. At sixteen, he acted as adjutant to a battalion at Dettingen and with his commanding officer went along the lines trying to make the men reserve their fire until the French were within easy range, an interesting parallel to a subsequent action. He assisted in putting down the Jacobite uprising in Scotland and was present at Culloden where the Stuart cause received its crushing blow. In 1747, he returned to the continent, served as brigade-major in the bloody and protracted battle of Lauffeldt, was wounded, and is said to have been publicly thanked by the duke of Cumberland for his brilliant and valorous conduct.

Unrequited Love

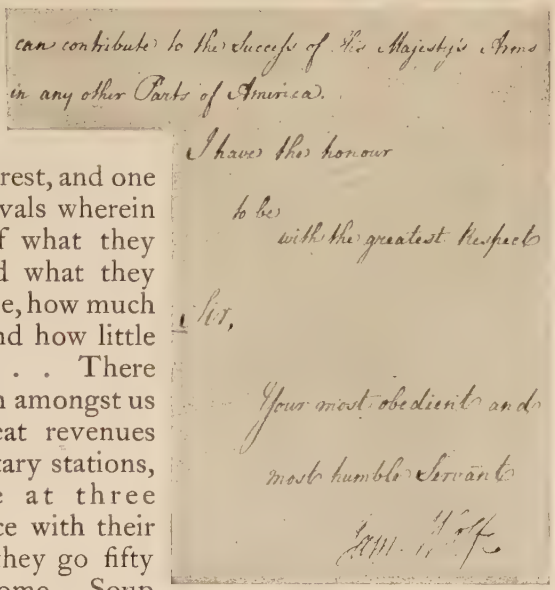
Soon after the return of peace, he was commissioned major of the Twentieth Foot, now known as the Lancashire Fusileers, and was stationed in Scotland. There he studied hard but found his stay very irksome, partly on account of the character of the people and country but largely, no doubt, because he was in love with a Miss Lawson, a maid of honor to the princess of Wales. His suit was opposed by his parents who had selected an heiress for him, nor does it appear to have been favored by the lady herself. In April, 1750, he was promoted lieutenant-colonel, but he failed to obtain leave of absence to study the military systems of the continent. Disappointed both in this matter and in his affair of the heart, he threw himself, for the first and last time, into the whirlpool of frivolity and debauchery that was then the custom of men of fashion.

A Significant Letter

Disgusted and repentant, he returned in the spring of 1751 to Scotland and thence, at midnight of his twenty-fifth birthday, wrote to his mother a letter so characteristic of the man and illustrative of the reflective and serious side of his character that it deserves to be quoted in part: "This day I am twenty-five years of age, and all that time is as nothing. When I am fifty (if so it happens) and look back, it will be the same; and so on to the last hour. But it is worth a moment's consideration

that one may be called away on a sudden, unguarded and unprepared, and the oftener these things are entertained the less will be the dread or fear of death. You will judge by this sort of discourse that it is the dead of night, when all is quiet and rest, and one of those intervals wherein men think of what they really are, and what they really should be, how much is expected, and how little performed. . . . There are young men amongst us that have great revenues and high military stations, that repine at three months' service with their regiments if they go fifty miles from home. Soup and venaison and turtle are their supreme delight and joy,—an effeminate race of coxcombs, the future leaders of our armies, defenders and protectors of our great and free nation. You bid me avoid Fort William, because you believe it still worse than this place. That will not be my reason for wishing to avoid it; but the changes of conversation, the fear of becoming a mere ruffian, and of imbibing the tyrannical principles of an absolute commander, or giving way insensibly to the temptations of power, till I become proud, insolent, and intolerable;—these considerations will make me wish to leave the regiment before the next winter, and always (if it could be so) after eight months' duty; that by frequenting men above myself I may know my true condition, and by discoursing with the other sex may learn some civility and mildness of carriage, but never pay the price of the last improvement with the loss of rea-

1751


can contribute to the Success of His Majesty's Arms
in any other Parts of America.
I have the honour
to be
with the greatest Respect
Sir,
Your most obedient and
most humble Servant
Jam. Wolfe

Part of Wolfe's Letter to Pitt, September 2, 1759

1751 1758 son. Better be a savage of some use than a gentle amorous puppy, obnoxious to all the world. One of the wildest of wild clans is a worthier being than a perfect Philander."

Promotion and Betrothal

By the outbreak of the war with France, Wolfe was regarded as one of the best officers of his rank in the service. When the expedition was sent against Rochefort, he was quartermaster-general and fourth in rank. The expedition proved a failure because of the irresolution of the three higher officers. But in the council of war Wolfe urged the adoption of a plan that would probably have brought success and, this fact becoming known, he was brevetted colonel and gained the favor of Pitt. As a result, Pitt appointed him junior brigadier under Amherst for the expedition against Louisburg where his decision and energy made him the hero of the siege. He returned to England in the same ship that carried the unfortunate Abercromby, landed on the first of November, and, after a trip to London to visit his parents, went to Bath to recruit his shattered health. There he wooed and became betrothed to Miss Katherine Lowther, daughter of a former governor of Barbados and sister of the future Lord Lonsdale. From her he received a miniature that he wore around his neck until the night before his death.

Miss Lowther

Commander of the Quebec Expedition

About this time, he wrote: "I have this day signified to Mr. Pitt that he may dispose of my slight carcass as he pleases, and that I am ready for any undertaking within the compass of my skill and cunning. I am in a very bad

condition both with gravel and rheumatism; but I had much rather die than decline any kind of service that offers. If I followed my own taste, it would lead me into Germany. However, it is not our part to choose but to obey. My opinion is that I shall join the army in America." His surmise was correct. Pitt selected him to command the Quebec expedition with the rank in America of major-general. The part assigned to him was greater, he modestly wrote, "than I wished or desired. The backwardness of some of the older officers has in some measure forced the Government to come down so low. I shall do my best and leave the rest to fortune, as perforce we must when there are not the most commanding abilities. A London life and little exercise disagrees with me entirely, but the sea still more. If I have health and constitution enough for the campaign, I shall think myself a lucky man; what happens afterwards is of no great consequence." As usual in such cases, the appointment aroused much ire and indignation among incapables of higher rank, some of whom asserted that Wolfe was "mad." The duke of Newcastle carried the saying to the king. The king's reply was: "Mad, is he? Then I hope he will bite some of my other generals." Abraham Lincoln may have heard the story. 1758 1759 November 22, 1758

In personal appearance, Wolfe did not measure up to the common ideal of a military hero. With receding chin and forehead, upturned nose, a mouth "by no means shaped to express resolution," and red hair tied in a queue behind, his profile was not likely to impress a stranger with a feeling that he was in the presence of his own superior—and his most familiar pictures are in profile. On his head he wore a black, three-cornered hat; his scarlet frock with broad cuffs and ample skirts that reached the knee hung upon shoulders that were narrow and added little to the bulk of a body that was slender and of limbs that were long and thin. The band of crape that he wore upon his arm was in token of mourning for his father who had recently died. In fact, Wolfe was physically feeble and often irritable, but through his Personal Appearance

1759

James Wolfe

piercing eyes one might get a glimpse of the ill-housed spirit of the man—an imperious will that dominated its tabernacle and forced the inert clay to execute the mandates of the soul. Such was the about-to-be conqueror of Quebec.

Wolfe's Brigadiers

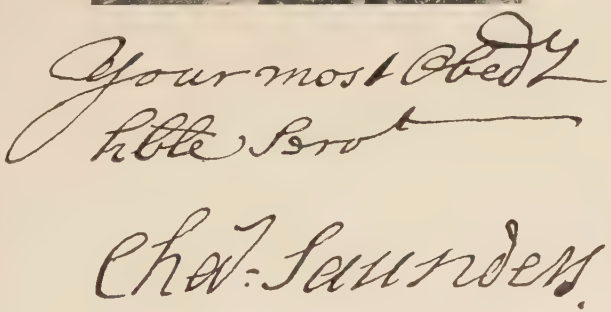
As his army was not as large as he had asked, Wolfe suggested that the choice of his chief officers would be a partial compensation, and this, with one exception, was allowed him. As his first brigadier, he selected Robert Monckton, an officer whom we met at the capture of Beausejour in 1755. The second brigadier, George Townshend, eldest son of Viscount Townshend, owed his position to family influence rather than to Wolfe's favor. He was cold, exceedingly conscious of his advantages of birth, over-critical of his superiors, and, though possessed of real ability, was never thoroughly trusted by his commander. James Murray, the third brigadier, was a son of Lord Elibank; he had served in the operations against

Geo: Townshend

Louisburg, and Wolfe had a high opinion of his military qualities. As his quartermaster-general, Wolfe selected Guy Carleton, later governor-general of Canada and the first Lord Dorchester. This appointment was made only after repeated efforts, for Carleton had incurred the enmity of the king by some ill-advised remarks about the Hanoverian troops; George twice struck his name off the list but was finally induced by Pitt to lay aside his prejudices. 1759

The command of the naval forces was given to Admiral Sir Charles Saunders who, by training and by temperament, was admirably fitted for the task before him. He had been with Anson on his famous cruise around the world, was with Hawke in the battle off Cape Finisterre in 1747, and, in command of the "Yarmouth" of sixty-four guns, had captured a French vessel of seventy guns after a desperate engagement, and had seen much other active service. Skilful and resourceful, he also had abundant tact, a quality of importance in conducting a joint expedition.

Admiral Saunders



On the seventeenth of February, Wolfe and Saunders sailed on the "Neptune" from Portsmouth for Louis-

1759 burg, the selected rendezvous. "In a few hours, the whole squadron was at sea, the transports, the frigates, and the great line-of-battle ships, with their ponderous armament and freight of rude humanity armed and trained for destruction; while on the heaving deck of the 'Neptune,' wretched with sea-sickness and racked with pain, stood the gallant invalid who was master of it all." A few days earlier, the squadron of Admiral Holmes had sailed for New York to fetch thence troops, and that of Admiral Durell had sailed for the Saint Lawrence to intercept the ships that France had sent with supplies for Quebec.

Wolfe and Saunders at Sea

Off Louisburg

The voyage of Wolfe and Saunders was made without special incident. When the fleet arrived off Louisburg, "scarred with shot and shell and the red cross floating over its battered ramparts," the harbor was still choked with ice, and anchorage had to be found at Halifax. Late in May, however, the whole fleet, with the exception of ten vessels under Admiral Durell, was gathered at the rendezvous where the troops also were assembled. Among these troops was the forty-third regiment which had spent the winter in garrison in Fort Cumberland on the hill of Beausejour. Among the officers of this regiment was Captain John Knox to whose blunt, matter-of-fact record of events from day to day the serious student of the struggle for the possession of New France is under lasting obligation. Durell's mission was almost a failure for all but three of the French supply ships eluded him. By the end of May, Quebec had received all the succor that was expected from the mother country.

The English Army and Fleet

All told, the army and fleet constituted the most formidable armament ever gathered in the Western Hemisphere. There were forty-nine warships, including one ship of ninety guns, two of eighty, three of seventy-four, and four of seventy, manned by more than thirteen thousand of the best sailors and marines in the world. In addition, there were seventy-six transports and one hundred and fifty-two smaller craft, manned by about five thousand men of whom three thousand were Americans.

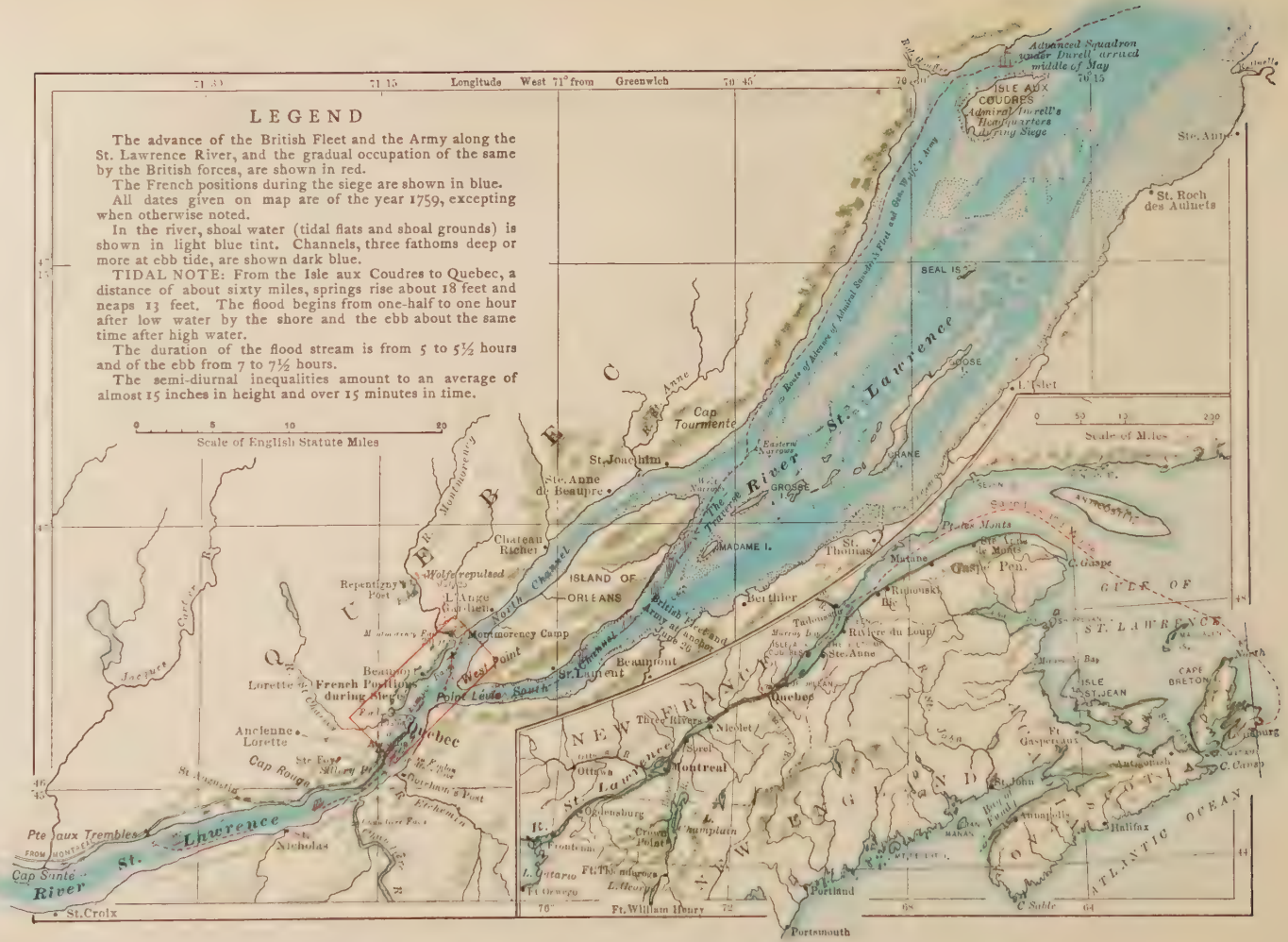
The army itself was not as large as had been intended; 1759
the orders for some West India regiments had been countermanded and the reinforcements from the garrisons in New York and Nova Scotia had fallen short of what had been anticipated. Instead of twelve thousand, the number embarked was only eight thousand five hundred and thirty-five. But most of these were well-seasoned veterans; there were only five companies of American rangers, although others arrived later. These colonial troops were, Wolfe said, newly raised, badly equipped, and the worst soldiers in the world.

On to Quebec

By the middle of May, Durell's advance squadron was at Isle aux Coudres in the Saint Lawrence River. On the first of June, the rest of the fleet began to sail from Louisburg and, by the sixth, every vessel had left the harbor. All on board were in high spirits, the bands played the time-honored tune, "The Girl I Left Behind Me," the men cheered lustily, and at the mess tables the officers drank the toast, "British colors on every French fort, post, and garrison in America." Among the officers were some who were later famous, Jervis (Earl Saint Vincent), Isaac Barré, the parliamentary friend of America, and William Howe.

Pilots Secured

The ascent of the Saint Lawrence was a dangerous undertaking. The officers and sailors of the fleet were unacquainted with the reefs and shoals and treacherous currents and cross-currents of the river, fogs were frequent, and between the Atlantic and Quebec there was a then mysterious variation of the compass of twenty degrees or more. But the English had some captured charts and a French pilot whom they had taken at sea and now compelled to serve them under penalty of being hanged if he refused. Additional pilots had been secured by one of Durell's stratagems. When his squadron was abreast of Bic, where river pilots were usually taken on board, the foremost vessel ran up French colors to the great joy of the Canadians on shore who thought that a French fleet had come and that New France was safe. As usual, the waiting pilots took to their canoes and



MAP OF THE SAINT LAWRENCE, ILLUSTRATING THE APPROACH OF SAUNDERS AND WOLFE

(Rectangle in red indicates extent of territory covered by map of Wolfe's campaign inserted at page 277.)

hastened to the ships where they were all made prisoners. 1759
When the French flag was lowered and the red cross of England hoisted in its stead, the lookers-on were filled with consternation and despair. The pilots thus secured were assigned to the several ships that most needed them. As an additional precaution, sounding-boats directed by such men as James Cook, the famous navigator of a few years later, were kept ahead, and lookout-men were continually aloft to note the changing aspects of the water. Thus the fleet crept slowly up the river, through the dangerous passage between Red and Green islands just above the mouth of the Saguenay to the still more dangerous passage, called the Traverse, between Cap Tourmente and the lower end of the Island of Orleans.

Killick

Captain Knox relates in his "Journal" that here the French pilot assigned to carry through the transport "Goodwill" "gasconaded at a most extravagant rate" and assured his captors that but few of the fleet or of the crews would ever find their way back to England. The master, a rare old tar named Killick, thereupon insisted on navigating the vessel himself, "whereupon the pilot declared that we should be lost, for that no French ship ever presumed to pass there without a pilot. 'Ay, ay, my dear,' replied our son of Neptune, 'but damn me, I'll convince you that an Englishman shall go where a Frenchman dare not show his nose,'" and he took the vessel through with ease. Thanks to other men of Killick's stamp, the other vessels were equally fortunate. "The enemy," wrote Vaudreuil some months later, "passed sixty ships of war where we hardly dared risk a vessel of a hundred tons." Had he taken the precaution to plant a battery on the side of Cap Tourmente, Killick might have had more trouble.

At the Island of Orleans

June 27

On the twenty-sixth of June, the fleet anchored off Saint Laurent on the Island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. That night, Lieutenant Meech with forty rangers landed on the island to make a reconnaissance. The next day, most of the army disembarked

1759 and formed a camp upon the plateau a little below the parish church of Saint Laurent. That afternoon, a violent tempest played roughly with the British ships, dashing many of them together and driving some of them ashore; many of the flatboats were destroyed. In the angry violence of the storm, the danger and damage to the shipping, and the undeniable distress of the English, the pious French discerned an interposition of Divine Providence in behalf of Canada. But the squall quickly passed and the menacing fleet was not destroyed.

Wolfe's First View of Quebec

On the morning of the twenty-seventh, accompanied by his engineer-in-chief, Major Mackellar, and escorted by some light infantry, Wolfe made his way by boat to

An Early View of Quebec, Engraved about 1758

the upper end of the island and there landed to get a view of the enemy's position. Before him lay one of the most beautiful scenes and one of the strongest natural fortresses in the world. On his right were the river and the falls of Montmorency, forming a natural defensive barrier, on his left the rugged cliffs of Point Levis, while in front

rose the promontory of Quebec, "a congregation of stone houses, churches, palaces, convents, and hospitals; the green trees of the Seminary garden and the spires of the Cathedral, the Ursulines, the Recollets, and the Jesuits. Beyond rose the loftier height of Cape Diamond, edged with palisades and capped with redoubt and parapet," and concealing from view a long stretch of almost inaccessible cliffs from the top of which a few men might defy an army. Extending from the mist-clad falls of the Montmorency to the Saint Charles River ran the long intrenched camp of the French with a double line of pretty white houses bordering the curved road in the background. Montcalm and Vaudreuil had put forth every effort to prepare as best they could for the coming blow and their efforts had been well supported by a pastoral mandate issued by the bishop. From far and near, every available soldier, habitant, and Indian ally had been called for the supreme struggle now at hand. Almost everywhere within Wolfe's gaze were batteries, redoubts, and hostile men. It was a sight to daunt the soul of any but a hero. 1759

Montcalm and Vaudreuil

The French had endeavored to make the most of the natural advantages that the place afforded. Montcalm's suggestion that batteries be placed at advantageous points down the river to harass the passage of the English fleet had been overruled and, against his wishes, Point Levis opposite Quebec had been left unoccupied; otherwise little exception could be taken to the plan of defense. In spite of these defects, there was little reason to fear the issue for Vaudreuil had given assurance that "the zeal with which I am animated for the service of the King will always make me surmount the greatest obstacles. . . . Permit me, Monseigneur, to beg you to have the goodness to assure His Majesty that, to whatever hard extremity I may be reduced, my zeal will be equally ardent and indefatigable, and that I shall do the impossible to prevent our enemies from making progress in any direction, or, at least, to make them pay extremely dear for it." A few days after the writing of

May 8

1759 this characteristic letter, Bougainville returned with the alarming news that an English fleet was on its way to attack Quebec, whereupon "everybody was stupefied." A few days after that, eighteen ships loaded with supplies for the colony anchored in the harbor; before the end of the month, five more arrived, in spite of Durell's blockade.

The Defenses of Quebec

On receipt of the news that Bougainville brought, all the available forces of New France, except the detachments of Bourlamaque and La Corne, were ordered to Quebec whither Montcalm and Vaudreuil hastened. The evacuation of the Isle aux Coudres and the Island of Orleans was ordered. The garrison in the city numbered about two thousand men under Ramezay. The batteries along the water front of the Lower Town were manned by seamen. The mouth of the Saint Charles was blocked by a boom of logs and two hulks that carried cannons. The bridge of boats across the little river was defended by a hornwork, and intrenchments were constructed at the fords further up the stream. Every gate, except the Palace Gate which opened upon the bridge across the Saint Charles, was closed and barricaded; more than a hundred cannons were mounted upon the walls. Bourlamaque and three battalions had been posted at Ticonderoga to hold it if he could and to fall back to Isle aux Noix if he must; La Corne was intrenched at the head of the rapids of the Saint Lawrence to check any hostile movement from Lake Ontario. But over all this hung a pall of official corruption and popular discontent that made Montcalm sick at heart.

The Beauport Camps

The rest of the French army, about fourteen thousand men, were posted below the city from the Saint Charles past the village of Beauport to the mouth of the Montmorency, along a line of intrenchments about seven miles in length. As the Montmorency could be passed at only two narrow fords, it was easily defended. Along the front of the Lower Town and the tidal flats below it were a number of floating batteries. Montcalm's headquarters were at a large stone house in the rear of the

center of the line; Vaudreuil's were nearer the Saint Charles. The total force available for defense amounted to about seventeen thousand men, almost double Wolfe's army. Montcalm's troops were less numerous by ten thousand than the combined British military and naval forces, but the cannons of the ships were "for the most part useless while the exigencies of the naval service forbade employing the sailors on shore. In two or three instances only, throughout the siege, small squads of them landed to aid in moving and working cannon; and the actual fighting fell to the troops alone." Of Montcalm's seventeen thousand, less than a fourth were French regulars, eleven thousand being militia, a force ranging from boys of twelve and thirteen to old men of eighty; the remainder were seamen, colonial regulars, and Indians. It was a heterogeneous army, but the French trusted largely to the strength of their position. Bougainville had reported that "by help of intrenchments, easily and quickly made, and defended by three or four thousand men, I think the city would be safe." In spite of the high estimate of his own abilities and zeal as revealed in his letters to the home government, Vaudreuil was now glad to leave the actual command of the land forces in the hands of Montcalm whom he authorized "to give orders everywhere, provisionally."

1759

Montcalm's Headquarters at Beauport, Destroyed in 1879

Pyrotechnics

As a further menace to the English fleet, the French had prepared a large number of fire-ships and fire-rafts. "I am afraid that they have cost us a million and will be good for nothing after all," said Montcalm. On the night of the twenty-eighth, seven of the fire-ships, under command of a boastful coxcomb named Delouche, dropped down the river on their errand of destruction.

1759 It had been agreed that Delouche was to lead the way; when the proper time came, he was to fire two guns; then all the crews were to apply torches to their vessels and save themselves. But Delouche "lost his nerve" and gave the signal long before his ships were within striking distance of the English vessels. The officers in charge of five of the other ships followed his example; the commander of the seventh, Captain Dubois de la Milletière, was made of different stuff. For an hour, he tried to get within striking distance, but was finally burned to death without having done any damage to the enemy. Some of the fire-ships ran aground on the upper end of the Island of Orleans; the others were towed ashore by the English picket-boats. The French had furnished a magnificent pyrotechnic spectacle, but had inflicted no loss upon the enemy. The only gainer by the fiasco was Bigot who had furnished the vessels to Vaudreuil at an exorbitant price.

Monckton Occupies Point Levis

The cliff on which Quebec was perched was too lofty for the elevation that could be given to the guns of the English ships, and Wolfe decided to occupy the heights of Point Levis. On the afternoon of the twenty-ninth of June, part of Monckton's brigade was ferried across the south channel to Beaumont where they encamped for the night; early in the morning of the thirtieth, while the light infantry were skirmishing with a party of Canadians, the rest of the brigade crossed over. One of Monckton's first acts was to affix to the door of the parish church a proclamation signed by Wolfe. This proclamation called upon the inhabitants to remain neutral, promised to those who did so protection for life, property, and religion, and threatened those who took up arms with "all the cruelty that war inflicts." The proclamation had no effect upon those to whom it was addressed.

Skirmishes and Scalps

About noon of the thirtieth, the English arrived near Point Levis and, after a hot skirmish, occupied the place. The enemy took a dozen scalps and captured a prisoner whom they sent across the river. This man told the

French of the strength of Wolfe's army and conveyed the false information that an immediate attack was to be made upon the Beauport Flats. As a result, the French army was kept under arms all night. On the morning of the first of July, another skirmish occurred near Point Levis in which nine Indians were killed; the New England rangers scalped the dead. 1759

The Point Levis Batteries

On the same day, the English began a new encampment on the upper end of the Island of Orleans. On the following day, Wolfe visited Point Levis, surveyed the city and its defenses, and chose a site for batteries with which to bombard it. Cannons and mortars were brought ashore and intrenchments were begun. Captain Knox also came over from the main camp and had what he called "a most agreeable view of the city of Quebec. It is a very fair object for our artillery, particularly the lower town." But to what end? From the heights of Levis, Wolfe could destroy houses, convents, and churches, but he could not destroy the fortifications of Quebec for they were but little exposed to his fire, and he could not thus capture the city, the thing for which he and his army had come. The bombardment would distress the enemy, discourage the Canadians, and possibly warm up his own shivering soldiers. July 2

"Royal Syntax"

Despite a heavy fire from Quebec and from a floating battery, the English mounted their guns with great rapidity. Much alarmed at the prospect before them, the citizens of Quebec begged that a force be sent to dislodge the enemy. Vaudreuil at last consented and Montcalm gave his approval. On the night of the twelfth of July, a party of fifteen hundred, including citizens of all ages and conditions, seminary pupils whom the wags nicknamed the "Royal Syntax," a hundred volunteer regulars, and some Indians, the whole under an experienced officer named Dumas, the same one whom Braddock met near Fort Duquesne, moved up to Sillery and there crossed the river in boats. On the way to the English camp, one French column mistook another for the enemy, the "Royal Syntax" fired a volley at their

1759 July 13

friends, and the mistake was twice repeated. Wholly demoralized, the force fell back in wild disorder and, early in the morning, reappeared in Quebec covered with shame and confusion.

The Bombardment of Quebec Begun

While the "Royal Syntax" melodrama was being enacted and at the signal of a rocket fired from the English Admiral's flagship, the bombardment of Quebec was begun. The first shots fell short; derisive cheers resounded from the ramparts. But soon the gunners found the range and the bombs and cannon-balls began to tell. More than three hundred bombs and fireballs were thrown into the town in the first twenty-four hours, and the non-combatants abandoned their homes and fled to the country for safety. The streets were crowded with vehicles loaded with furniture and household effects. The Palace Gate would not suffice to let them all out, so two others were opened. In the Lower Town and in the more exposed portion of the Upper Town there remained only the garrison and some companies of firemen. The Ursulines and the *Hospitalières* left their monasteries in the care of a few of their sisters and took refuge in the general hospital.

The City in Distress

In a single day, the cathedral and eighteen houses were burned; in a few days, a large part of the Upper and all of the Lower Town fell a prey to fire. From without the city the inhabitants watched the clouds of flame and smoke rising above their ruined homes, and a few were killed. Fiercer and fiercer raged the storm of fire and iron hail. With thundering guns and screeching shells, the English cannoneers intoned a gigantic overture by day and wrought a gorgeous tracery in golden lines by night. The citizens were distressed, but the French army was not defeated. The bluff sent back its mocking echoes and the citadel was still unharmed.

The English Camp at Montmorency

But Wolfe had not confined himself to laying Quebec in ruins; he had been seeking some way by which he might grapple with his foe. On the eighth, a number of vessels bombarded the French left. In the following night, Townshend and Murray with their brigades, about

three thousand men, broke up their camp at the Point of Orleans, leaving Major Hardy with some marines to hold that post, and were ferried across the north channel of the river. Before daybreak, they landed at L'Ange Gardien, a short distance below the mouth of the Montmorency. They met with little resistance and began to fortify themselves on the plateau above. It has often been pointed out that the three separate English camps might have been attacked and defeated in detail, but an English fleet was near at hand and thus made less the dangers of division. Moreover, Montcalm had determined on a policy of wearing out his assailants and would not be tempted into an abandonment of it. From his new position, Wolfe hoped to be able to cross the Montmorency, to drive the French out of the Beauport lines, and closely to invest Quebec. Confident of the superior discipline of his troops, he also hoped that the enemy would attack him. Lévis, who commanded the French left, was anxious to make such an attack, but the more cautious Montcalm said: "Let him amuse himself where he is; if we drive him off, he may go to some place where he can do us harm."

1759

July 9

Light Dragoon (left) and Grenadier (back and front), 1744–60

The Dividing Line

Montcalm's estimate of Wolfe's new position was correct. Although the English were now within musket-shot of the extreme French left, they were well cut off. Below the feathery falls, two hundred and fifty feet in height, the river was broad and shallow and could be waded

1759 at low tide, but, for many miles above, it was deep and rapid; what few fords there were could be easily defended. The English cannonaded the French and the French cannonaded the English, sharpshooters from both armies lay in wait for living targets, but nothing decisive was accomplished by either side. From time to time, white flags silenced the din of war. On one such occasion a French officer said to Wolfe: "You will demolish the town, no doubt, but you shall never get inside of it." "I will have Quebec if I stay here till the end of November," was Wolfe's answer.

Auxiliaries

A part of Saunders's fleet had passed into the basin above the Island of Orleans. Artillery duels between these ships and the French batteries were frequent, as were skirmishes between the Indians and Canadians on the one side and the rangers and light infantry on the other. Some of the Canadians dressed themselves like Indians; one of them, captured on the eighteenth of July, was entirely naked save for a breech-clout, his skin was painted red and blue, he had a bunch of painted plumes in his hair, carried a war-club in his hand, and had a scalping-knife suspended from his neck. Johnstone, the Scotch-Jacobite aide-de-camp of Lévis, said that "a Canadian in the woods is worth three disciplined soldiers, as a soldier in a plain is worth three Canadians." These Canadians scalped as freely as did their barbarian allies, and the New England rangers were not much less eager for such trophies. Wolfe issued an order forbidding "the inhuman practice of scalping except when the enemy are Indians or Canadians dressed like Indians."

Canadian Murmurs

As time passed, the Canadians, disheartened by the Fabian policy of Vaudreuil and Montcalm, wearied by weeks of inaction, and anxious to attend to their crops, began to murmur and some of them to desert. These things the English learned from deserters and prisoners. One of the latter, described by Knox as "a subtle old rogue of seventy years," gave a very imaginative description of the great strength of the French forces; but, says

Knox, "we plied him well with port wine, and then his heart was more open, and seeing that we laughed at the exaggerated accounts he had given us, he said he 'wished the affair was well over one way or the other; that his countrymen were all discontented, and would either surrender or disperse and act a neutral part, if it were not for the persuasions of their priests and the fear of being maltreated by the savages, with whom they are threatened on all occasions.'" 1759

English Frigates Above Quebec

On the night of the eighteenth of July, two English frigates and some smaller craft ran past the batteries of the town. The night was cloudy and the sentinels did not discover them until they were well on their way. All the French batteries within range opened fire, but, favored by a northeast wind and by the tide and covered to a certain extent by a heavy cannonade from the English guns on Point Levis, the ships got by without any material injury and at once destroyed a French fire-raft and some smaller craft. The next morning, the English at Point Levis saw across the river a double gibbet from which hung the corpses of two of the floating patrol, condemned and executed for mutiny and lack of vigilance. The English ships above Quebec were under the command of Admiral Holmes; the lower fleet was under the immediate command of Admiral Saunders.

July 19

The French Patrol

The siege had now entered upon a new phase. Quebec was threatened on a side that had hitherto been free from danger and Montcalm found it necessary to divide his forces. He sent Dumas from Beauport with six hundred men and some Indians to defend the accessible places in the line of cliffs between Quebec and Cap Rouge and added several hundred more including cavalry when he learned that the English had dragged boats and sent troops across Point Levis. The English were now divided into four separate parts each of which must, in case of attack, defend itself unaided. That Montcalm did not seize upon the opportunity to strike a blow was probably due to his lack of confidence in the militia and to the fact that all the English troops save those in the

July 19

1759 camp at Montmorency were protected by the fleet in the river.

English Gallantry

On the night of the twentieth, Colonel Carleton with six hundred men rowed up the river to attempt a descent on the north shore. His guide was Robert Stobo who, five years before, had been given to Villiers as a hostage when Washington surrendered Fort Necessity. Despite his parole, Stobo kept up a correspondence with the British, was condemned to death, and reprieved; in the preceding May, he had escaped to Halifax. Carleton

July 21

landed near the village of Pointe aux Trembles where, according to reports, there were magazines of supplies and some important papers. After driving off a band of Indians, he entered the place but found little of importance. In the afternoon, he reëmbarked his force, taking with him about a hundred non-combatants, including some high-born dames — refugees from Quebec. The ladies of the party were entertained by Wolfe at supper on shipboard. All of the prisoners were treated with great kindness and consideration; on the following day, they were sent to Quebec under a flag of truce. It is said that upon parting some of the English officers inscribed their names in the note-books (*carnets*) of their fair prisoners. A few years later, Carleton, then Lord Dorchester and governor of Canada, received some of his former prisoners in the Chateau Saint Louis.

Ravaging the Country

Three days after the release of the ladies, Wolfe issued another proclamation in which he said that the Canadians had shown themselves unworthy of the offers he had made them and that he had, therefore, given orders to the light troops to ravage the country and to capture the inhabitants. "Major Dalling's light infantry," writes

July 25

Knox, "brought in this afternoon to our camp two hundred and fifty male and female prisoners. Among this number was a very respectable looking priest, and about forty men fit to bear arms. There was almost an equal number of black cattle, with about seventy sheep and lambs, and a few horses. Brigadier Monckton entertained the reverend father and some other fashionable

personages in his tent, and most humanely ordered refreshments to all the rest of the captives; which noble example was followed by the soldiery, who generously crowded about those unhappy people, sharing their provisions, rum, and tobacco with them. They were sent in the evening on board of the transports in the river." Two days later, more prisoners and more live stock were brought in, and the process was continued indefinitely. The Canadian militia from the near-by parishes were in a sorry plight, between two fires. If they deserted from Montcalm, their homes would be burned by the French; if they did not desert, their homes would be burned by the English. 1759

On the night of the twenty-seventh, Vaudreuil made another attempt to destroy the English fleet. About seventy rafts and small boats "covered with grenades, old swivels, gun and pistol barrels loaded up to their muzzles, and various other inventions and combustible matters," had been chained together and placed under the command of Sieur Courval, a Canadian of approved courage. This time, fire was not applied until the "aquatic infernal machine" was within musket-range of the English fleet which was saved only by the activity of the English sailors who promptly grappled and towed the flaming, roaring, dangerous mass ashore. "Damme, Jack," asked one of the tars engaged in this work, "didst thee ever take hell in tow before?" More Pyrotechnics

On the twenty-fifth of July, the day on which, at the further end of Lake Ontario, Pouchot surrendered Fort Niagara to the English, Wolfe made a reconnaissance in force up the Montmorency to ascertain the possibility of passing the fords, but the resistance offered was such that he decided that the movement was impracticable. A month had now passed since he sailed up the Saint Lawrence and the capture of Quebec seemed as far off as ever. Something must be done. Since his wary enemy would not attack him or meet him in the open, he resolved to storm the heights of Montmorency. The Resolution

A mile to the westward of the Montmorency, in front The Plan

1759 of the heights on which the main French works stood, was a strand about an eighth of a mile wide. In front of the strand there was at low tide an expanse of mud-flats about half a mile wide. The strand was defended by redoubts, and the redoubts were commanded by intrenchments on

The Taking of Quebec

the brink of the heights above. The intervening declivity was very steep and covered with grass. Wolfe's plan was to distract the enemy's attention by feints and bombardments at several points while he concentrated his available forces in front of the works that he intended to assault. The French could quickly bring to bear a force double his own, they were strongly intrenched at the top of the declivity, but he hoped that they would come down to the strand to defend their redoubts, or that he might find a place where he could successfully storm the heights of Beauport. He had an unbounded confidence in the disciplined valor of his own soldiers and a corresponding scorn of the Canadian militia. If Braddock or Abercromby had ordered troops to assault such a position, his action would be set down as the climax of stupidity and folly.

Manœuvers

On the morning of the thirty-first, a detachment from

Townshend's camp marched up the Montmorency River as if intending to cross one of the fords, but later returned under cover of the woods. Another force marched westward from the Point Levis batteries as if to cross the river and to land at some point above the city. At flood-tide, two armed transports ran in as close as possible to the place where Wolfe had decided to land, opened fire upon the redoubts, and remained stranded upon the mud as the tide went out. A little later, the line-of-battle ship "Centurion" anchored below the mouth of the Montmorency and directed its guns against the redoubts. Townshend's batteries also opened a heavy fire upon the French lines, but were able to do little harm because of the skilful construction of the traverses. To distract attention, the Point Levis batteries opened a furious bombardment upon the town. About ten o'clock, a flotilla of boats carrying most of Monckton's brigade moved from Point Levis toward the channel north of the Island of Orleans, were joined by other boats carrying marines and troops from the island, and then hovered about in mid-channel above and below Beauport, threatening first one point then another. At first, Montcalm was much perplexed by these manœuvers, but he soon saw that the real attack would be made on Lévis's position on the left of the French line. He therefore reinforced that position with all the men that could be spared from the right and center. About two o'clock, he himself went thither and was received with enthusiastic shouts of "*Vive notre général!*" 1759

The Battle of Montmorency

Late in the afternoon when the tide was out, Wolfe signaled from one of the stranded transports for Townshend and Murray to cross the ford below the Montmorency falls a mile away, embarked in a boat, and joined Monckton's flotilla in the river. Then, under cover of an artillery fire from ship and shore, the combined advance began. The first of Monckton's troops to land at the edge of the exposed mud-flat were thirteen companies of Louisburg grenadiers who had been ordered to form in four columns and to lead the attack on the near-

1759 est redoubt. But the grenadiers were so eager and excited that, without stopping to form or waiting for orders, they charged like an armed mob before the other troops were ready to support them. The French evacuated the nearest redoubt which was open toward the rear and hence gave little or no protection to its captors. After a short pause, finding themselves exposed to a deadly fire, the grenadiers rushed across the strand against the intrenchments on the heights above. A concentrated fire of grape-shot and musket-balls swept them down by scores, a long-impending thunderstorm burst in fury, and the rain torrents made the grassy slopes so slippery that it was almost impossible to climb them. After nearly half the grenadiers had fallen, the survivors fell back to the redoubt. Seeing the uselessness of further attack and fearing that the rising tide would cut off the retreat across the Montmorency, Wolfe gave the order to retire. The two stranded vessels were set on fire; the fifteenth regiment, part of the Royal Americans, and the remnant of the grenadiers reëmbarked in the boats; and the rest of the army marched toward the Montmorency camp, the men waving their hats and daring the French to come down from their intrenchments and to fight them in the open.

Wolfe Rebukes His Grenadiers

In public, the English attributed their failure to the precipitancy of the grenadiers and to the rain. In general orders issued the next day, Wolfe said: "The check which the Grenadiers met with yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come; such *impetuous*, *irregular*, and *unsoldierlike* proceedings destroy all order, make it impossible for their commanders to form any dispositions for attack, and put it out of the General's power to execute his plan." The rebuke was just and was to bear good fruit a few weeks later. In his dispatches, Wolfe admitted that he had erred in undertaking to combine so close to the enemy the landing of troops from the river with the advance of others from across the Montmorency. In truth, he had undertaken the impossible, and it is probable that the precipi-

tancy of the grenadiers saved the army from another Ticonderoga if not from complete destruction. No doubt he longed more and more intensely for Amherst's coming and began to fear that he might have to be content to share the dubious laurels of Sir William Phips. 1759

The French were much elated by their success, as they had reason to be. With a loss of but sixty-six, they had killed, wounded, or taken four hundred and fifty-three of the enemy and had foiled an attempt upon which the English had built great expectations. "Everybody," said the commissary Berniers, "thought that the campaign was as good as ended, gloriously for us." "I have no more anxiety for Quebec," wrote Vaudreuil to Bourlamaque. "M. Wolfe, I can assure you, will make no progress. Luckily for him, his prudence saved him from the consequences of his mad enterprise, and he contented himself with losing about five hundred of his best troops. Deserters say that he will try us again in a few days. That is what we want; he'll find somebody to talk to." The French Success

The next few weeks was a trying period for both parties. By the first of September, one-tenth of the effective total of the English army had been killed or wounded, many more had died of sickness or were in the hospital, and the whole army was depressed by its lack of success. The condition of the French was still worse. Although their casualties amounted to fewer than three hundred, the whole of the Lower Town and much of the Upper Town was in ruins, many of the guns had been dismounted or silenced, and some of the floating batteries had been disabled or destroyed. The British fleet controlled the river for twenty or thirty miles above Quebec, thereby rendering the transportation of supplies difficult; bread was so scarce that it cost three francs a pound and powder had to be economized. There was much sickness, and hospital accommodations and appliances were poor. In spite of threats and punishment, many Canadians deserted in order to care for their families and to provide food for the coming winter; more than two thousand are said thus to have taken French leave. The Situation

1759 Severe War Measures

The condition of the inhabitants was rendered still more terrible by the fact that the English, indignant at "the unchristian barbarities" of the Canadians and Indians who were constantly lying in wait to scalp and mutilate sentinels and outposts, began systematically to devastate the country. Highlanders, light infantry, and New England rangers burned and laid waste far and wide. Churches were ordinarily spared, but farmhouses and villages were destroyed wherever resistance was offered and sometimes where it was not. "Night after night the garrison of Quebec could see the light of burning houses as far down as the mountain of Cape Tourmente." Although the English were less ruthless than the war parties that, for five years under Vaudreuil's orders, had carried destruction and death to the borders of the English colonies, they were, on occasion, guilty of atrocious cruelties. Near Saint Joachim, some prisoners, including the curé of the parish, were murdered in cold blood by a detachment commanded by Captain Alexander Montgomery, brother of the general of the Revolutionary war. Wolfe's orders were that "Women and children are to be treated with humanity; if any violence is offered to a woman, the offender shall be punished with death."

August 24

Murray and Bougainville

All this destruction failed to draw the wily Montcalm out of his intrenchments to give the battle that Wolfe so sorely coveted. Winter was coming; Montcalm had everything to gain and Wolfe everything to lose by delay. As it began to appear that nothing could be accomplished below the town, the English general changed his plan and began to send more of his vessels up the river past the batteries, while Murray with twelve hundred men marched across Point Levis and embarked in flatboats that had been sent thither. To oppose this new danger, Bougainville was sent from the Beauport camp with from ten to fifteen hundred men to patrol the shore. Floating up and down the river with the tide and threatening to land and to cut off supplies from Three Rivers and Montreal, this fourth division of the English army caused Bougainville's detachment serious loss of sleep

and wearied them with incessant marching. On the eighth of August, Murray was twice sharply repulsed while attempting to land near Pointe aux Trembles, but later he made a descent at Dechambault where he destroyed a large depot of stores, including the spare baggage of many of the French officers, and burned the house that formed the retreat of "la belle Amazon avanturiere" — Madame Cadet. 1759 August 19

On the twentieth of August, a pall of gloom was cast over the English army by the news that Wolfe was seriously ill. Under his herculean labors, his delicate constitution had at last given way. Racked with pain and tortured with anxiety, he lay weak and helpless in an upper room of a stone farmhouse at Montmorency, unable to see his officers or to speak with them. For five days he lay thus, but, on the twenty-fifth, it became known, "to the inconceivable joy of the whole army," says Knox, that he was better. In a few days, though still weak, he was out among his troops. Wolfe's Sickness August 31

Meanwhile, the prospects of the French had brightened. Earlier in the month, news had come of the loss of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort Niagara and, as related in the preceding chapter, Lévis had been sent up the river with a considerable force to lend assistance in whichever direction it should prove to be most needed. But as time went on it was learned that the English were not advancing from Lake Ontario and that Amherst still tarried at Crown Point, while Bourlamaque wrote that his position at the Isle aux Noix was impregnable. Every day that passed brought nearer the winter season when the invader must withdraw. Despite their many embarrassments, the French grew confident; they began to believe that fortune would once more preserve the colony that they had so long and so ably defended. Fortune Favors the French August 10

About this time, the arrival of a messenger from Lake Champlain brought to Wolfe the discouraging news of the tortoise-like advance northward from Ticonderoga; it was apparent that if he was to take Quebec he must do it without the expected aid from Amherst and his army — Wolfe is Despondent

1759 an army that was greater than his own. Never sanguine of the success of the expedition, he was now despondent.

August 31 In his last letter to his mother he wrote: "My antagonist has wisely shut himself up in inaccessible intrenchments, so that I can't get at him without spilling a torrent of blood, and that perhaps to little purpose. The Marquis de Montcalm is at the head of a great number of bad soldiers and I am at the head of a small number of good ones, who wish for nothing so much as to fight him; but the old fellow avoids an action, doubtful of the behaviour of his army."

The Final Throw

Disappointed in his expectation of help from Amherst and apparently unable to capture the city by his own unaided efforts, he, in his moodier moments, regarded himself as a ruined man and declared that he would never return home "to be exposed to the censure and reproach of an ignorant populace." At other times, he felt that he ought not to sacrifice his men in a hopeless conflict against insurmountable obstacles. But, despite illness, toils, and anxieties "too great," says Burke, "to be supported by a delicate constitution, and a body unequal to the vigorous and enterprising soul that it lodged," he cast aside his irresolution and resolved upon one final, desperate effort.

CHAPTER XV

THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

ON the twenty-ninth of August, while still confined to the house by illness, Wolfe sent to General Monckton a letter in which he asked that "the Brigadiers will be so good [as] to meet, and consult together for the public Utility and advantage, and to consider the best method of attacking the enemy." He pointed out that there were three methods of making the attack: (1) To ford the Montmorency eight or nine miles up and to attack the Beauport lines in the rear, while another detachment landed and attacked the French in front. (2) To ford the Montmorency below the falls in the night, march along the strand to the neighborhood of Beauport Point, and there attack, while Monckton's force stood by off the point to support the attack. (3) To make a general attack upon Beauport before dawn "with all the Chosen Troops of the Army," one division to ford the river and the rest to land from boats. All these plans contemplated an attack upon the intrenched camp below the city. In spite of the repulse of the thirty-first of July, Wolfe still clung to the idea of attacking the enemy where the enemy was strongest. He had previously entertained two other plans, one to scale the heights at Saint Michel, about three miles above Quebec, and the other to storm the Lower Town. Both of these plans he had abandoned; the first because he learned that the enemy was prepared to receive him, the second because, even if the

1759

Wolfe's Three Plans

1759 Lower Town should be carried, the Upper Town would still be inaccessible.

The Brigadiers Object

In their answer, the brigadiers showed a better appreciation of the true military situation than their commanding officer had done. "The natural Strength of the Enemy's situation, between the River St. Charles and the Montmorency," they wrote, "now improved by all the Art of their Engineers, makes the defeat of the French Army if attackt there very doubtful. The advantage their easy communication on Shore has over our Attacks from Boats and the Ford of the Montmorency is evident from late experience, and it cannot be denied that That part of the Army which is proposed to March thro' the Woods nine miles up the Montmorency to surprize their Army is exposed to certain discovery, and consequently to the continual dis-advantage of a Wood fight—But allowing we got footing on the Beauport side, the M. de Montcalm will certainly still have it in his power to dispute the passage of the St. Charles, till the place is supplied with two month's provisions (the utmost you can lye before it) from the Ships and Magazines above from which it appears they draw their subsistance."

August 30

James Wolfe

Their Plan

The brigadiers then proposed a plan of their own. "We, therefore, are of Opinion that the most probable method of striking an effective Blow is by bringing the Troops to the South shore and directing our opperations

above the Town. When we have established ourselves on the North Shore, of which there is very little doubt, the M. de Montcalm must fight us upon our own terms, we are between Him and his provisions and betwixt him and the French army opposing General Amhurst. If he gives us Battle and we defeat Him Quebec must be ours, and which is more all Canada must submit to His Majesty's arms, a different Case from any advantage we can hope for at Beauport." From the "Plan of Operations in Consequence of the Above Answer" it appears that the brigadiers expected the landing to be made a considerable distance above Quebec, "from the heighth of St. John to Cap Rouge River." 1759

Wolfe Assents

The idea of an attack above the city was not new to Wolfe and he assented to the plan now proposed. That he was not very sanguine of its success is clearly shown by his last letter to Pitt in which he said: "In this situation *there is such a Choice of Difficultyes*, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The Affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; But the Courage of a Handfull of brave men should not be exerted, only when there is some Hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the Campaign which remains shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of His Majesty, and the Interest of the Nation In which I am sure of being well seconded by the Admiral and by the Generals. Happy, if our Efforts here can contribute to the Success of His Majesty's Arms in any other Parts of America."

Wolfe's Generalship

It was not strange that he was far from confident and almost discouraged. Amherst had failed to play the part assigned to him, and every attempt of his own had been foiled by an opponent who was fully his equal in generalship and who had the advantage of occupying one of the strongest natural positions in the world. His own illness further complicated difficulties already too great. "I am so far recovered," he wrote to the earl of Holderness a few days after his last letter to Pitt, "as to be able to do business; but my constitution is entirely

1759 ruined, without the consolation of doing any considerable service to the state and without any prospect of it." The fact that officers of higher rank had been "jumped" in his selection for the command made bitter the thought of returning home without success. He also knew that the confidence of his officers and men in him had been weakened by repeated failure. On the sixth of September, Townshend wrote to his wife that Wolfe's health "is but very bad. His generalship in my opinion is not a bit better." Townshend was not alone in the expression of such an opinion. Wolfe's ultimate success and the heroic nature of his death have caused most historians to overlook the fact that, judged by his career, he was much better as a "fighter" than as a strategist.

The Montmorency Camp Abandoned

The work of abandoning the Montmorency camp was begun on the thirty-first of August under Carleton's management. The attention of the French was distracted by movements of the English fleet above Cap Rouge and by heavy bombardments from Point Levis and by the threatening movements of vessels off Beauport. Under such cover, the artillery was removed to the Island of Orleans and to Point Levis; some of the troops were withdrawn on the second of September and, on the third, while a part of the fleet and some troops from Point Levis threatened the Beauport lines, the rest of the force embarked without the loss of a man.

The Fleet

The next week was devoted to attempting to carry out the plan of the brigadiers. Admiral Saunders made a judicious distribution of the naval forces to assist the army. Admiral Holmes with some seventeen vessels was stationed above Quebec, Saunders with the main fleet lay off Point Levis, while Admiral Durell with a strong squadron patrolled the river from the Island of Orleans down to the Gaspé coast. Thus the English fleet afforded protection to the English land forces and by its movements puzzled and misled the French.

Montcalm is Watchful

Although wholly in the dark as to Wolfe's intentions, Montcalm felt confident that his opponent would not sail for home without "a great effort, a stroke of thunder,"

WOLFE'S QUEBEC

LEGEND

THE UPPER MAP (I) shows the SIEGE OF QUEBEC from the day the British landed on the Island of Orleans until the capitulation.

British works of attack in red:
British encampments in red thus:
French works of defense in purple:
French encampments in purple thus:
British regiments indicated by numbers.

A. - Artillery
G. - Louisburg Grenadiers
L. I. - Light Infantry
M. - Marines
R. A. - Royal Americans
h - Hospital
r - Redoubt

THE LOWER MAPS (II & III) illustrate the Landing of the British, Advance to the Heights, and Battle on the Plains of Abraham.

The Battalions of the French Army are given their territorial names.

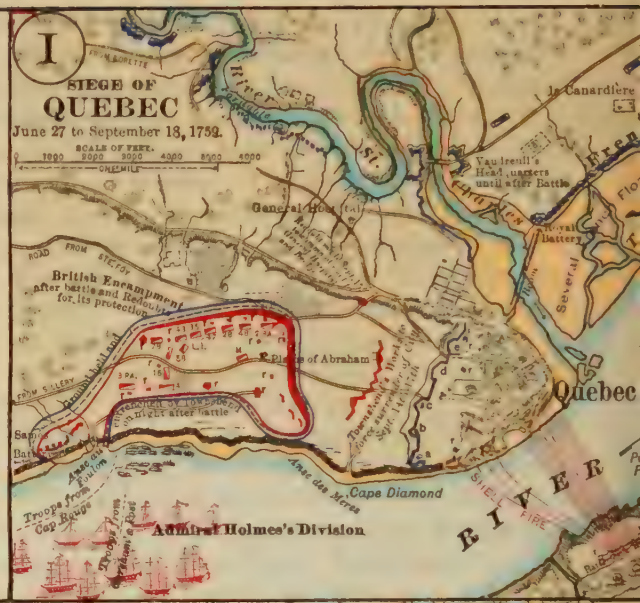
In the British Army names of "Colonels" as well as Regimental numbers are given.

CITY OF QUEBEC:

a - C. Diamond
b - La Glaciere
c - St. Louis
} Bastions
d - St. Ursula
e - St. John
f - La Potasse
} Bastions

This map, a composite one, was edited with careful scholarship, by MAJOR WILLIAM WOOD, author of "The Fight for Canada," in consultation with LIEUT.-COL. CRAWFORD LINDSAY, Canadian Artillery, and DR. A. DOUGHTY, Archivist.

The facsimile of the "Engineers' Map" in Dr. Doughty's "Siege of Quebec," is by permission used as our basis though errors in original are corrected and much other material is employed. The "Engineers' Map" was made shortly after the battle by three engineers of Wolfe's army (Capt. Delbeig, engineer in ordinary, Capt. Holland of the Royal Americans, and Lieut. Des Barres of the Royal Americans). Major Wood's concepts were executed with scholarly intelligence by MAX MAYER, cartographer, Map Department, The Matthews-Northrup Works.



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CAMPAIGN OF 1759
Beauport
Line of Defense
Floating Battery 12 Cannons
Admiral Saunders's Division
LAWRENCE
North Channel
Tidal Flats
ISLAND OF ORLEANS
West Point
Major Hardy's Camp
Point Lévis
South Channel
Porcupine Sloop and the Halifax Brig while camp was at Montmorency
The M.-N. Works
III
BATTLE ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM
September 13, 1759.
SCALE OF FEET.
River St. Charles
General Hospital
Dauphinese Redoubt
Quebec
British Army
French Army
Movement of Armies into Contact, French Retreat, British Pursuit
Wolfe's Monument
To this place he was conveyed mortally wounded, and here died
Cape Diamond
River St. Lawrence

but he did not know where the bolt would fall. He was badly served in the matter of military intelligence and was not even certain where the main English force was concentrated. More sanguine than Montcalm, Vaudreuil believed "that the grand design of the enemy has failed." Yet both were ceaselessly watchful. "The night is dark," wrote Montcalm to Bourlamaque on the second of September; "it rains; our troops are in their tents, with clothes on, ready for an alarm; . . . I in my boots; my horses saddled. In fact, this is my usual way. I wish you were here; . . . for I cannot be everywhere, though I multiply myself, and have not taken off my clothes since the twenty-third of June." It was thought that the next attempt would probably be made above the city; Montcalm, therefore, strengthened his right on the Saint Charles and raised Bougainville's force above Quebec to between two and three thousand men including some of the best troops in the French army. Bougainville had positive orders to watch the shore as far up the river as Jacques-Cartier and to follow every movement of the squadron under Holmes. It was expected that any attempt above the town would be made in the vicinity of Pointe aux Trembles; there was but little fear for the heights near the town. Nevertheless, Montcalm ordered the battalion of Guienne to encamp on the heights; Vaudreuil withdrew it two days later.

1759

The Bougainville Patrol

On the sixth of September, Townshend and Monckton left Point Levis, forded the Etchemin River, and embarked more than three thousand men on Holmes's fleet. On the seventh, the fleet moved up to Cap Rouge and made a reconnaissance in force; finding the French well prepared, the English did not land. Later in the day, the brigadiers reconnoitered as far as Pointe aux Trembles where they expected to land on the ninth. But a dreary fall rain had set in on the seventh and continued almost without cessation until the tenth. This rain prevented the carrying out of any military movement and caused great suffering among the men crowded

Ebb and Flow

1759 in the ships. On the ninth, fifteen hundred were landed on the south shore at Saint Nicholas with orders to hold themselves ready to reëmbark at a given signal. The

season was late, the delay was discouraging, but the time was not wasted. The constant movement of the English up and down the river with the ebb and flow of the tide made them familiar with the country, while it wore out the French and tended to make them careless. From time immemorial, the cry of wolf as a false alarm has often led to a fatal inertness when the crisis really came.

Wolfe's Cove

On the tenth, Wolfe made a final reconnaissance. He was accompanied by Admiral Holmes, Generals Monckton and Townshend, Colonel Carleton, and Captain De Laune. From high ground on the south side of the Saint Lawrence below the mouth of the Etchemin he examined the Anse au Foulon, now known as Wolfe's cove. The beach of this cove, less than two miles above the town, seemed well adapted to the landing of troops, but above it rose the usual cliffs. However, Wolfe discovered a narrow, winding path running up from the shore. The author of the "curious but often inexact" *Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo* says that it was the lately escaped hostage-prisoner who directed Wolfe in his choice of a landing-place, although Stobo seems to have left Quebec several days before. The path had been some-

what broken up by the French and was barricaded by an abatis, but the top had been deemed so inaccessible by the French that they had stationed there only about one hundred men. About two hundred yards nearer the town, at the eastern limit of the cove, was a spur up which a small party might perhaps be able to climb and surprise the guard at the top. The barricaded path could then be cleared and a larger force brought up from the beach. 1759

Wolfe's Final Plan

Wolfe resolved to modify the plan of the brigadiers and to make the attempt at this cove. It was an audacious resolution, yet it had some points in its favor. If Wolfe had followed the plan of his brigadiers, he would have had to meet the troops under Bougainville, while by a clever ruse, as we shall see, he drew that vigilant officer and his men up the river and landed his own army near the town while the French patrol was nearly twenty miles away. The French were expecting an attack either on Beauport or at some point higher up the river than the Anse au Foulon the very inaccessibility of which had led the French to leave it feebly guarded. Still the hundred who were on duty there could probably have held the position until the arrival of help if they had been properly alert. But—a favoring circumstance of which Wolfe did not know—the commander of the picket was the Canadian Vergor who, four years before, had surrendered Fort Beausejour after a tame resistance. For this he had been tried and, through the influence of Vaudreuil and Bigot, acquitted. He was a man after Bigot's own heart; only a few days previously he had allowed all but about thirty of his men to go to their homes and to work on their farms on condition that they also worked on one of his. Such was the man who was standing guard for New France in the hour of her greatest peril.

Vergor on Guard

Adroit Distraction

Thanks to the navy, the English forces were in such a position that the most could be made of the opportunity, and Wolfe's plan was laid with great adroitness. Montcalm was to be kept below the town by a feint against

1759 Beauport; Bougainville was to be drawn up the river by a threatened landing at Pointe aux Trembles; the Quebec garrison was to be kept busy by a bombardment from Point Levis. While the enemy's attention was thus distracted at these various points, Wolfe would land his army at the cove; if all went well, morning would find him on the Heights of Abraham. As the town was incapable of a prolonged defense on this side, the French would be compelled to fight the battle that Wolfe so long had sought. Defeat would spell utter ruin, but victory would bring with it the mastery of Quebec and of New France.

A Precious Secret

The English preparations were made with great secrecy. It seems that to the very last, only Admiral Holmes who was to command the covering squadron, Captain Chads who was to have charge of the movement of the flotilla of boats that was to carry the expedition, Colonel Burton, and perhaps one or two others knew just where the landing was to be made. Even the brigadiers seem to have known the plan only in a general way until half-past eight on the evening of the twelfth, when, at their request, Wolfe told them more definitely what he intended to do. The general orders issued on the eleventh entered into great detail about such matters as the embarkation, but said nothing about the landing-place, while the final orders of the twelfth were silent on the subject.

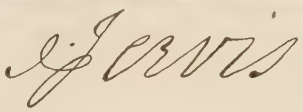
Wolfe's Orders

These orders of the twelfth were, in reality, Wolfe's final message to his army and deserve to be quoted in part: "The Enemy's force is now devided, great scarcity of provisions now in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians . . . a vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada. Our troops below are in readiness to join us; all the light artillery are embarked at the point of Levi, and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post that they may occupy; the officers must be careful that

the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those who go on before them. The battalions must form on the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing place, while the rest march on and endeavor to bring the French and Canadians to battle. The officers and men will remember what their country expects of them, and what a determined body of soldiers inured to war is capable of doing against weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry." 1759

The Shadow of Death

Wolfe had a premonition that he would not survive the action. On the evening of the twelfth, having made all the necessary military arrangements, he called his old schoolmate, "Jack" Jervis, now the commander of the sloop-of-war "Porcupine," into the cabin of the "Sutherland" in order to entrust to him a private commission. To Jervis he gave his note-book, his will, and the miniature of his betrothed, Miss Lowther. The will provided for the distribution of his property and personal effects, chiefly among his officers, and stated that in case of his death the miniature was to be "set in jewels to the amount of five hundred guineas" and returned to Miss Lowther.



The Embarkation

By this time all was in readiness. The light artillery had gone on board an armed sloop on the eleventh; the

1759 troops at Saint Nicholas had embarked on the morning of the twelfth and gone up with the flood-tide, but had fallen down the river again before nightfall. After sunset, detachments from the Island of Orleans and from Point Levis, leaving their tents still standing, had marched along the south shore to Goreham's Post, near the mouth of the Etchemin. The total force available for the attempt amounted to forty-eight hundred and twenty-nine infantrymen of all ranks and about twenty artillerymen. About eleven o'clock, seventeen hundred of these were embarked in thirty large bateaux and some boats belonging to the squadron which, for some time, remained alongside the vessels. As it was expected that the troops would have to remain in the boats most of the night, they had, by Wolfe's order, received an extra gill of rum to put in their water; in addition, they carried their arms and ammunition, and rum and provisions for two days.

Silence

Toward midnight, a single lantern appeared in the main topmast shroud of the "Sutherland." At the signal, the boats were rowed quietly to the rendezvous between the flagship and the south shore. On the north side of the river at Cap Rouge, lay Bougainville's headquarters, but the English vessels clung close to the south shore and the bateaux were on the south side of the ships—quite out of the sight of the enemy in the moonless midnight. About two hours later, a second lantern appeared above the first and the boats began to drop down-stream in succession from the front. The French sentinels remained blissfully unaware that the final expedition against Quebec was on its way.

The Path of Glory

Wolfe and his staff, with Captain De Laune and twenty-four volunteers who were to lead the desperate attempt to climb the cliff and surprise the guard at the top, were in the foremost boat. On either side appeared the dark steep banks of the river, the moon had set and the sky was partly overcast, but at the eastward the darkness was reddened and the stillness was torn by the flash and thunder of the guns at Point Levis and on the ves-

sels lying in the basin of Quebec. Now it was, according to long accepted accounts, that Wolfe, oppressed perhaps by a feeling of his impending doom and anxious about the outcome of his venture, quoted in a low voice to his officers the then recently published lines of Gray: 1759

> The boast of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave
> Await alike th' inevitable hour,
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

"Gentlemen," he said, when he had finished, "I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec tomorrow." According to Major William Wood, Wolfe's recitation of the *Elegy* was perhaps made while reconnoitering from a boat the previous afternoon; in other words, "the story may be true but cannot yet be proved so."

For more than an hour the boats floated down with the current without particular incident. Two or three miles above the cove lay the English sloop "Hunter," moored in midstream. Her commander, Captain Smith, was ignorant of Wolfe's plans, but he had just learned from two prisoners or deserters that the French were expecting Bougainville to send that night a convoy of provisions down the river to Montcalm, as he had done more than once before. Mistaking Wolfe's flotilla for Bougainville's convoy, Captain Smith was about to open fire; the fortunate discovery was made just in time. Hurried explanations followed and, quickly seizing his golden opportunity, Wolfe turned the French expectations to his own advantage. Good Luck

Happily escaping this danger, Wolfe's flotilla bore in nearer the north shore. There was now great danger of discovery, but fortunately the sky was more than ever overcast and the darkness more intense. They passed the first French post in safety, but when they were opposite the second and still some distance above the cove, there rang out from a sentinel on shore the sharp challenge: "Qui vive?" Fortunately there was in one of the foremost boats a Highland officer who had served on the continent and spoke French perfectly. "France!" he Qui Vive?

1759 responded. "Why do you not speak louder?" the sentinel is said to have asked. "Do not make a noise; we shall be heard," was the ready answer. As might naturally be expected, the accounts of this dialogue do not agree, but the fact remains that the sentinel was satisfied and did not demand the countersign. There is little doubt that he assumed that the boats belonged to the expected provision flotilla that Bougainville was to send down that night to Quebec. The suspicions of a second sentinel were lulled by a similiar answer and, at about four o'clock, the boats arrived at their destination.

The Forlorn Hope

Wolfe was the first man to spring ashore. Captain De Laune with the twenty-four volunteers and three light infantry companies followed and were formed upon the beach. Wolfe in person led them just beyond the rocky point that jutted out to form the eastern boundary of l'Anse au Foulon and pointed out to them the spur up which he hoped they would be able to climb. With their muskets slung on their backs, they pulled themselves up the steep ascent by trees, roots, and bushes, sometimes scrambling on hands and knees and sometimes helping each other over the worst places; at last they reached the summit without having raised an alarm. The French were taken by surprise and offered little resistance; probably most of them had been sleeping. Vergor escaped, wounded in the heel; some of his men were captured. In a moment, the English were masters of the plateau and their huzzas carried the glad tidings to their anxious comrades below. When Wolfe heard the cheer of his men as they charged the post at the top of the cliff, he ordered the battalion at the foot of the Foulon path to lead the general advance.

Climbing the Cliff

Pulling themselves up by the shrubbery and the boughs of trees that then grew upon the acclivity, and finding insecure footing "upon the little ledges of the rock that scarcely afford a sufficient foothold for a goat" came Colonel Howe and the main body of the light infantry, Colonel Fraser with his detachment of the Highlanders, and then the grenadiers. So prompt was the forward

and upward movement that just as the second party reached the top "they ran into the men of the forlorn hope who were still following up their charge. Both of these parties had advanced so quickly that neither thought the French could have disappeared so suddenly from the ground between them; and an accident was barely averted; for it was still so dark that each was liable to mistake the other for the enemy." While the other battalions under Monckton and Murray were waiting for their turn to climb, Admiral Holmes's squadron arrived with intrenching tools and camp equipment and in readiness to support the troops if there was need and opportunity offered. The Samos battery, a little ways up the river, was quickly captured by Howe and the light infantry. Townshend's detachment from Goreham's Post and the troops from the ships landed at the cove, climbed the hill, and formed on the plateau above. By six o'clock on the morning of the thirteenth of September, Wolfe's little army was drawn up on the heights above Quebec. 1759

On the Plateau

The French patrol on the heights retired toward the city and sent to the camp at Beauport word of what had happened. Without waiting for all the troops to come up, Wolfe took the fifty-eighth regiment and most of the light infantry to make a reconnaissance of the plateau known to history as the Plains of Abraham, so called from Abraham Martin, a pilot who had owned land there in the early days of the colony. Crossing to the Sainte Foy road, Wolfe followed it toward the city until he was able to look down upon the valley of the Saint Charles and the camp at Beauport. About a mile from the walls of the city, a rise of ground crossed the plateau; midway between this ridge and the walls was a second ridge parallel with both. Because of the second ridge, the first could not be seen from the walls; between the two was an almost ideal battle-field. Returning from his reconnaissance, Wolfe led his army northward to the Sainte Foy road and then eastward to the first ridge on which he formed his firing line. It was eight o'clock before the

1759 troops were in position. Later in the day, after the zig-zag path of the Foulon had been cleared, two brass 6-pounder cannons were dragged up to the heights. The first reached the battle-field about nine o'clock—just in time; the other came up about two hours later.

The Critics

The difficulty of the ascent, which an able military critic has erroneously called an escalade, has been exaggerated by some and unduly minimized by others. One of the British officers present wrote: "Should the troops perform this difficult undertaking, I shall for the future think little of Hannibal's leading an army over the Alps; the rock is almost steep, and the summit seems to me inaccessible to an army." In spite of the changes of a hundred and fifty years, a personal inspection of the place justifies the statement that, as an athletic performance, it "was by no means an unprecedented military operation" and that "it was a boldly desperate, rather than a physically difficult undertaking." On the other hand, one finds nothing to confirm the assumption that five thousand men, carrying their arms, ammunition, knapsacks, and rations, did or could scale the steep "in a tolerably solid mass."

Wolfe's Strategy

In his desperate zeal, Wolfe had taken great risks, but he had not been as rash as has often been supposed. He had a supreme confidence in the discipline and valor of his officers and men, he had learned that the Plains of Abraham were practically unprotected, he had held Montcalm below the city by Saunders's feint on the works at Beauport, he had decoyed Bougainville up the river and left him there out of the way of doing immediate harm, and, finally, he did not risk the destruction of his army in the dangerous ascent of the cliff until he knew that Vergor and his guard were criminally negligent. "With all his dare-devil courage, Wolfe was not the man to risk useless sacrifice of life." Had the advance-guard found the French sentinels at the Foulon as vigilant as their duty demanded, Wolfe would doubtless have countermanded his orders and quickly reëmbarked the men on shore. Although he was taking desperate chances, he had not

1759

lost his head; on this occasion, his strategy matched his daring—*and Fortune smiled.*

Meanwhile what of the French? Circumstances had conspired against them; for once fortune had deserted them. Certain that the attack was to be made above his post, Bougainville had been lured far up the river by the movements of English vessels threatening an attack in the vicinity of Pointe aux Trembles. The vessels later dropped down-stream again; as Bougainville was returning, he heard of the English landing at the cove below, but it was then eight or nine o'clock in the morning; he did not arrive at the battle-field in time to be of any service to Montcalm.

Bougainville Misled

Quebec from Point Levis, 1906

On the day before, Montcalm had again ordered the battalion of Guienne to the heights above the Foulon cove and again Vaudreuil had interfered. Even Montcalm had not realized to the full the dangerous possibilities of the place and had been misled by Saunders's demonstration into thinking that an attack was to be made on Beauport. In consequence, he had kept his troops under arms and had taken no rest during the night. About six o'clock, having

Montcalm Deceived

1759 heard the guns of the Samos battery and fearing for the safety of the provision convoy, he mounted and, with the Chevalier Johnstone, rode over to the hornwork near the Saint Charles to learn if any news had come to Vaudreuil. According to one account, he caught sight of the English on the heights before reaching the governor's quarters; according to another, he found that the governor had received news that the English were attempting to land at the cove but was waiting for developments. At all events, it appears that while Montcalm was at the governor's quarters a messenger arrived with the news that the enemy were on the heights beyond the city.

Montcalm's Arrival

Then the jealousies of Montcalm and Vaudreuil and the evils of a divided command revealed themselves in their most disastrous form. Despite all his previous boasting, Vaudreuil remained supinely at the hornwork while Montcalm gathered all the troops immediately available and sent Johnstone to bring up the left wing of his army. Vaudreuil ordered the left to remain where it was and all that Montcalm got was the battalion of Royal Roussillon. Vaudreuil failed to order Ramezay, the commandant of Quebec, to let Montcalm have the available field-pieces, and Ramezay allowed him to have only three when he might have had twenty-five. "There were orders and counter orders; misunderstanding, haste, delay, perplexity." At last, Montcalm managed to get eight battalions of regulars—five of them French and the other three colonial—some militia and some Indians, about five thousand men in all, in line between the city and the enemy. The ends of the line are marked fairly well today by two martello towers.

French Precipitancy

Montcalm then called a council of war and his chief officers agreed that an attack should be made immediately. They believed that if time was given the English would bring up more men, that they would intrench themselves, that their own supplies would be cut off, and that Quebec, attacked both by water and by land, must inevitably fall. As most of the British troops were hidden by inequalities of the ground, the French could not see how large

Wolfe's force really was and seem to have underestimated it; they hoped by an immediate attack to overwhelm the troops already there before others, who were supposed to be coming, could arrive. They did not know that Wolfe had already brought up all of his immediately available men; in their minds, a quick victory was the only thing that could save the city. Thanks to the assistance rendered by the navy, Wolfe had been able to disconcert the French completely and all the measures taken by them to oppose him were hastily conceived and necessarily imperfect. 1759

Montcalm's Tactics

It is probable that the chances for French success would have been greater if Montcalm had waited until he had secured more cannon and Bougainville was at hand to attack the British in the rear. Montcalm has been much blamed by enemies and critics because of the "precipitancy of the attack." Thus, they have urged that the lateness of the season would force Wolfe to storm the fortifications of the city without waiting for siege-guns; that the defense could be prolonged until a crushing hostile force, with abundant artillery, had been concentrated on the English front and flank and rear; that preparation for the necessary assault would consume time and Wolfe had no time to spare, etc. In a few weeks, at most, winter would come, "a grim and irresistible ally," as truly so at Quebec in 1759 as it was at Moscow half a century later. Montcalm had already shown that he knew how to wait; why did he not now wait? Was it because "his impetuosity overcame his better judgment," or, as his enemies assert, because, over-eager for undivided glory, he was afraid that Vaudreuil would come and take command? On the other hand, his tactics have received strong approval. If he had much to gain by delay, it is certain that he also had much to lose.

The Thin Red Line

Meanwhile Wolfe had perfected his dispositions for the impending battle. The plateau on which he stood was a tolerably level tract of ground, about three-fourths of a mile wide, partly covered with grass and partly with

1759 corn-fields, with here and there a clump of bushes. Across this plateau, between the lines of Maple avenue and De Salaberry street of today, and facing the city, Wolfe drew up in battle array six regiments — the fifty-eighth, the seventy-eighth Highlanders, the forty-seventh, the forty-third, the twenty-eighth, and the Louisburg grenadiers. It seems that, owing to the wide extent of ground that had to be covered, he found it necessary to draw up his army in two lines only, instead of the usual three, a "well-judged innovation." The files were at least three feet apart and the battalions were separated by intervals of about forty yards. Even then, the line of battle did not reach across the plateau; on his right near the cliffs of the Saint Lawrence and somewhat to the rear, on the gaol knoll, he placed the thirty-fifth regiment with one wing thrown back at a right angle so as to face the Saint Lawrence. On his left, toward the Saint Charles where there was much greater danger of being flanked, he stationed the fifteenth regiment with one wing facing the left front and the other facing the left rear. The light infantry was stationed in the woods along the Sainte Foy road between what is now the foot of Maple avenue and the foot of De Salaberry street. The second Royal Americans were formed in column in the rear of the left of the line, and the third Royal Americans were stationed well in the rear of the right to cover the approach to the top of the Foulon path. A detachment of one hundred and seventy-two light infantrymen was to hold the Samos battery against the coming of Bougainville; the forty-eighth regiment was held in reserve in the rear of the right center. The generals were all on the firing line; Townshend commanded on the left, Murray in the center, and Monckton on the right; Wolfe himself, attired in a brilliant new uniform that was an easy mark for the sharpshooters of the enemy, moved up and down the line, overseeing everything and impressing upon all that there must be no firing until the enemy was within forty paces. A volley from double-shotted muskets was then to be poured in, after which the men

were to reload, advance twenty paces, and fire again. 1759
Just before the battle joined, Wolfe stationed himself on the right between the twenty-eighth and the Louisburg grenadiers on some rising ground whence he had a good view of the entire right and center.

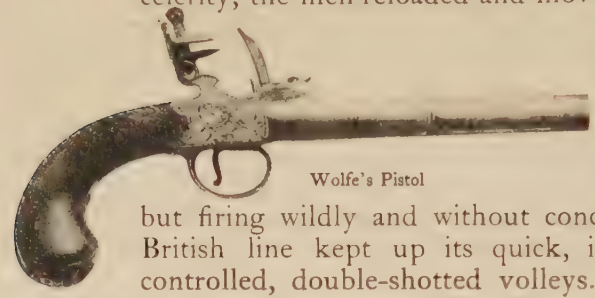
The Battle Begun

The attack was begun by a swarm of Canadians and Indians, who fusilladed the English from front and flank, while a few cannons opened upon them with canister. When his line of battle was formed, Montcalm rode down the front saying a few stirring words to each battalion. The eight battalions of French and colonial regulars advanced in three brigades, the white uniformed French regulars, victors of Ticonderoga, in the center, and the variously arrayed colonial regulars on the wings. No sooner were the Canadians within long musket-range than they began to fire without orders and then to throw themselves on the ground to reload. This behavior proved disastrous; but little injury was inflicted upon the English and the advance was much delayed. Furthermore, the Canadians showed a greater inclination to join in the skirmishing attacks than to come to close quarters; before the battle was really joined, the three colonial battalions had practically melted away. This caused the French regulars to lose assurance and to hesitate. To guard their now exposed flanks, the brigade on the left inclined to the left, the two on the right to the right; thus, split in twain, the French army advanced against the English wings, firing hurriedly and nervously as they came.

Quick Work

While the French were forming for the attack, Wolfe moved his line a hundred paces forward to insure a close and decisive action. A small English cannon plied the enemy effectively with grape-shot, but the thin red lines of infantry remained motionless and silent. Nearer and yet nearer came the shouting, white-uniformed battalions, the troops firing as they advanced. Some of the English soldiers fell, but their comrades waited. Wolfe anxiously watched the narrowing interval—a hundred yards—eighty—sixty—fifty—forty-five—forty—"Fire!" With a

1759 crash, the English poured in their first volley, sweeping down the French by hundreds. With precision and celerity, the men reloaded and moved twenty paces to the front. Again they poured in their volley and "then followed a short, but deadly fire-fight; the French fighting gallantly, but firing wildly and without concentration; whilst the British line kept up its quick, intense, but perfectly controlled, double-shotted volleys." Soon the French line began to waver. The English dashed in with the bayonet; the Highlanders with the claymore; in a few moments the French army was a disorderly mob in wild flight for safety, "driven, with a prodigious slaughter, into the town and their other intrenchments on the other side of the River St. Charles." A French officer who was present says: "Our troops gave the first fire, the British the second, and the affair was over. Our right took to their heels, our center ran away after them and drew along the left, and so the battle was lost in less time than I am telling the story." In less than ten minutes the fate of a continent had been decided. Although not included in Creasy's famous list, Quebec was one of the decisive battles of the world.

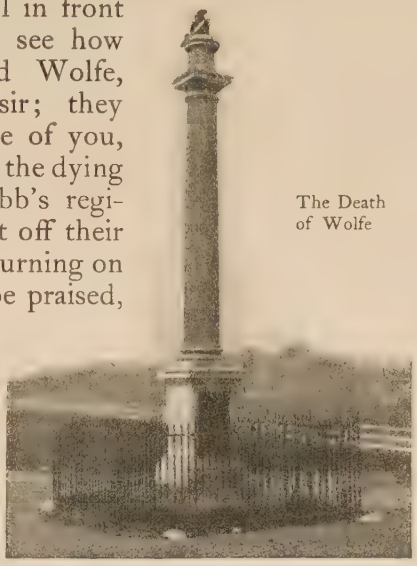


Wolfe's Pistol

Wolfe Wounded

Before the main French attack began, Wolfe, while on a visit to the left, had been hit in the wrist, but he tied the wound up with his handkerchief and kept on. As he passed the center, another bullet struck him in the groin, but he kept on, pouring out his spirit, says a grenadier officer, "in animated exhortations and fiery eloquence, which spring from that deep emotion which none but warriors can feel" and "none but heroes can utter." Just as the final charge began, a third bullet passed through one of his lungs; half-stunned by the shock, he staggered and was carried to the rear and seated on the ground. There the staff surgeon and a favorite servant

took him in charge, but it was evident that he had only a few minutes to live. His eyes were already glazing with death, when some one on the knoll in front cried out: "They run, my God! see how they run!" "Who run?" asked Wolfe, rousing himself. "The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere!" "Go, one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton," said the dying general; "tell him to march Webb's regiment down to Charles River to cut off their retreat from the bridge." Then turning on his side, he added: "Now God be praised, I shall die in peace;" a moment later his gallant spirit took its flight. 1759



The Death of Wolfe

Wolfe's Monument on the Plains of Abraham

Very similar was the fate of Montcalm. Slightly wounded early in the engagement, he was trying to rally his troops when he received another ball through the body. Supported by two grenadiers, he reëntered the town through the Saint Louis gate. As he rode down the street, some affrighted women, seeing the blood streaming down his waistcoat, set up their loud lamentations: "*Oh, mon Dieu! mon Dieu! le Marquis est tué!*" In heroic kindness, Montcalm reassuringly replied: "It's nothing, it's nothing: do not distress yourselves for me, my good friends." (*Ce n'est rien, ce n'est rien; Ne vous affligez pas pour moi, mes bonnes amies.*) He was taken into a house where a surgeon examined him and reported that the wound was mortal. The death-stricken

Montcalm Wounded

House of Surgeon Arnoux, in which Montcalm Died

1759 man received the verdict with composure and asked how long he might live. He was told that he might survive until three in the morning. "So much the better," he returned, "I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

Une Mort Glorieuse

When Montcalm's advice was asked concerning what the French should do, he pointed out a three-fold choice —to fight again, to retreat, or to surrender. He seems also to have written a short note to the English general; beyond this he refused to consider military matters. "My time is very short, I have far more important business that must be attended to." To his secretary he confided messages to each of his family, asked that all his papers be delivered to Lévis, and devoted his last moments to preparing for the death that about five in the

September 14

morning came to his relief. An old servant of the Ursulines, "Bonhomme Michel," made a rude coffin and, on the evening of that day, in the presence of officers of the garrison, a gathering of citizens, and a few priests and nuns, the body of the greatest soldier who had ever served New France was laid to rest in the Ursulines' chapel in a grave that had been partly hollowed out by the bursting of a shell. Once again the saying had been fulfilled: "*La guerre est le tombeau des Montcalm.*"

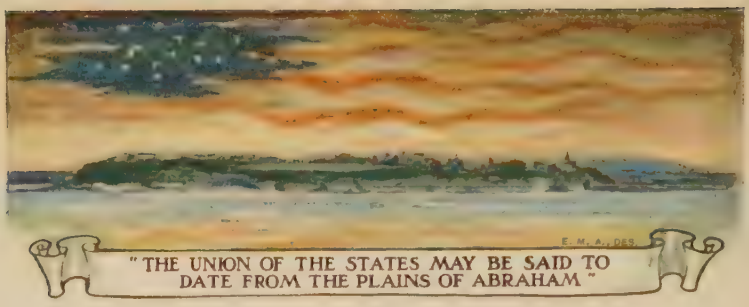
Wolfe-Montcalm Monument

In Memoriam

Thus, one in victory and the other in defeat, died gloriously the two chief heroes of the war. To them, posterity has paid impartial honor. In the words of John Fiske, "there has never been a historic drama in which the leading parts have been played by men of nobler stuff than Montcalm and Wolfe." In the "Governor's Garden" in Quebec stands a monument, erected in 1828.

On one side of the shaft is the word, MONTCALM; 1 7 5 9
on the other, WOLFE; on the pedestal is carved:

MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT



CHAPTER XVI

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

1759
The English Brigadiers

WHEN Wolfe fell, Monckton immediately took command of the British forces. A few minutes later, Monckton was severely wounded and it was reported that Townshend had been wounded too. Murray therefore took command and continued the pursuit of the French up to the walls of the city when Townshend arrived; it was Carleton and not Townshend who had been wounded. From hand to hand the chief command had passed until, in one half-hour, each of the general officers had held it. On the other side, Montcalm's three brigadiers and his senior colonel had fallen with their faces to the foe while vainly trying to rally the fleeing French. By the time that Townshend took the command from Murray, the pursuers were in almost as great disorder as the pursued had been.

Canadian Valor

Although Montcalm had launched his whole force against the English without holding any in reserve and the rout of his army was complete, the pursuit was suddenly checked in an unexpected quarter. Some of the Canadians, most of whom had not advanced with the regulars to the attack, stood at bay in the thicket along the edge of the cliff above the Cote d'Abraham on the Saint Charles side of the plateau. When the victorious Highlanders advanced to dislodge them, they were received with so hot a fire that they had to retreat and wait for reinforcements. According to their custom, these mountaineers had thrown down their muskets when they drew

their broadswords for the attack, but other regiments arrived and helped to drive the Canadians over the cliff and forced them across the bridge of boats. In this half-hour fight, the Canadians lost two hundred, but they had atoned for some of their shortcomings on the battle-field and afforded needed aid to the regulars many of whom otherwise would have been cut down or taken prisoners before they found safety beyond the river. 1759

Bougainville Comes and Goes

Before Townshend had had time fully to reform his somewhat disorganized army, Bougainville appeared with about two thousand men. When in the morning of that day he found that the British men-of-war that had been threatening him on the evening of the twelfth had disappeared in the darkness, he naturally thought that they had dropped down the river to Saint Nicholas and would return. He, however, promptly set out for Cap Rouge and covered the eight miles so quickly that he met Vaudreuil's messenger there at nine o'clock; not long after eleven o'clock his advance-guard had reached the scene of action. The detachment that he sent to retake the Samos battery was repulsed. Townshend advanced with a force of infantry and his two guns, and Bougainville wisely and in good order retired to Ancienne Lorette, about nine miles from Quebec. The English then proceeded to intrench themselves upon the field of battle and Saunders supplied as many seamen as were needed to bring up guns, tents, and supplies. As a matter of fact, the "bluejackets" who had been carrying up camp equipments and intrenching tools or waiting on the beach with guns and other siege materials "were anything but pleased with the tameness of the part assigned to them." According to the written statement of one of them, "they were perpetually damning their eyes, etc., because they were restrained from pushing into the heat of the fire before they were wanted." Within twenty-four hours, Townshend and his army were safe from any immediate danger.

The Bluejackets

The French Army Withdrawn

Vaudreuil had long boasted what he would do when a crisis came, but his part in the battle had consisted of crossing the Saint Charles bridge just as the rout began,

1759 recrossing it, and ordering it to be destroyed before half the defeated army had escaped—an order that luckily was not carried out. Within the safety of the hornwork, he blustered about taking his revenge the next day, but tamely acquiesced in the decision of a council of war to retreat to Jacques-Cartier and there await the arrival of Lévis. When night came, he fled with the right wing "as if the Highlanders were after them with the claymore" and without even informing the center and the left of his intentions. These portions of the army followed of their own initiative; "they had to run in order to get into touch with the fugitives" and the retreat became a disorderly rout.

Ramezay Holds Quebec

The flight of the French army had left Quebec in a precarious position. The garrison consisted of about six hundred French and colonial regulars and about fifteen hundred sailors and local militia. Within the walls there were also about twenty-six hundred women and children, and more than a thousand sick and wounded and other non-combatants. Provisions were almost exhausted; a large part of the town was in ruins; Townshend was building formidable siege-works close up to the walls; the spirit of resistance was broken. Ramezay, the commandant, had received instructions from Vaudreuil to the effect that when the supply of provisions was exhausted he might surrender without waiting for the enemy to take the place by storm, and had even been authorized to capitulate in forty-eight hours after the departure of the army from Beauport. On the fifteenth, the mayor and a deputation of citizens waited upon the commandant and urged him to surrender; in the evening, a council of war was held. Vaudreuil's orders authorizing a capitulation that very night were read and the council was almost unanimous for such action. But Ramezay was determined to make an effort to save the town and soon received indefinite promises of assistance from Vaudreuil. As the

September 16

promised supplies did not come, he sent to Beauport and learned that the absconding army had left their tents standing and that the large store of provisions left there

The London Gazette Extraordinary.

published by Authority

WEDNESDAY, October 17, 1759.

Whitehall, October 17.

LAST Night Colonel John Hale, and Captain James Douglas, late Commander of His Majesty's Ship the Alcide, arrived from Quebec, with the following Letters to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable General Monckton to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated, River St. Laurence, Camp at Point Levi, Sept. 15, 1759.

SIR,

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that, on the 13th Instant, His Majesty's Troops gained a very signal Victory over the French, a little above the Town of Quebec. General Wolfe, exerting himself on the Right of our Line, received a Wound pretty early, of which he died soon after, and I had myself the great Misfortune of receiving one in my right Breast by a Ball, that went through Part of my Lungs, (and which has been cut out under the Blade Bone of my Shoulder) just as the French were giving way, which obliged me to quit the Field. I have therefore, Sir, desired General Townshend, who now commands the Troops before the Town, (and of which I am in Hopes he will be soon in Possession) to acquaint you with the Particulars of that Day, and of the Operations carrying on.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

ROB. MONCKTON.

P. S. His Majesty's Troops behaved with the greatest Steadiness and Bravery.

As the Surgeons tell me that there is no Danger in my Wound, I am in Hopes that I shall be soon able to join the Army before the Town.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Brigadier General Townshend to the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated, Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759.

SIR,

I have the Honor to acquaint you with the Success of His Majesty's Arms, on the 13th Instant, in an Action with the French, on the Heights to the Westward of this Town.

It being determined to carry the Operations above the Town, the Posts at Point Levi, and l'Isle d'Orleans being secured, the General marched, with the Remainder of the Force, from Point Levi, the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in Transports, which had passed the Town for that Purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a Movement of the Ships was made up, by Admiral Holmes, in order to amuse the Enemy now posted along the North Shore; but the Transports being extremely crowded, and the Weather very bad, the General thought proper to cantoon half his Troops on the South Shore; where they were refreshed, and reimbarked upon the 12th at One in the Morning. The Light Infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe, the Regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Lascelles, and Anstruther, with a Detachment of Highlanders, and the American Grenadiers, the Whole being under the Command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were put into the Flat-bottomed Boats, and after some Movement of the Ships, made by Admiral Holmes, to draw the Attention of the Enemy above, the Boats fell down with the Tide, and landed on the North Shore, within a League of Cape Diamond, an Hour before Day-break. The Rapidity of the Tide of Ebb carried them a little below the intended Place of Attack, which obliged the Light Infantry to scramble up a woody Precipice, in order to secure the Landing the Troops by dislodging a Captain's Post, which defended the small intrenched Path the Troops were to ascend. After a little firing, the Light Infantry gained the Top of the Precipice, and dispersed the Captain's Post; by which Means, the Troops, with a very little Loss from a few Canadians and Indians in the Wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The Boats, as they emptied, were sent back for the second Embarkation, which I immediately made. Brigadier Murray, who had been detached with Anstruther's Battalion to attack the Four Gun Battery upon the Left, was recalled by the General, who now saw the French Army crossing the River St. Charles. General Wolfe thereupon begun to form his Line, having his Right covered by the Louisbourg Grenadiers; on the Right of these again he afterwards brought Otway's; to the Left of the Grenadiers were Bragg's, Kennedy's, Lascelles's, Highlanders, and Anstruther's; the Right of this Body was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the Left by Brigadier Murray; his Rear and Left were protected by Col. Howe's Light Infantry, who was returned from the Four Gun Battery before-mentioned, which was soon abandoned to him. General Montcalm having collected the Whole of his Force from the Beauport Side, and advancing, showed his Intention to flank our Left, where I was immediately ordered with General Amherst's Battalion, which I formed *en Potence*. My Numbers were soon after increased by the Arrival of the two Battalions of Royal Americans; and Webb's was drawn up by the General, as a Reserve, in eight Subdivisions with large Intervals. The Enemy lined the Bushes in their Front with 1500 Indians and Canadians, and I dare say had placed most of their best Marksmen there, who kept up a very galling, though irregular, Fire upon our whole Line, who bore it with the greatest Patience, and good Order, reserving their Fire for the main Body, now advancing. This Fire of the Enemy was however checked by our Posts in our Front, which protected the Forming our own Line. The Right of the Enemy was composed of Half of the Troops of the Colony, the Battalions of La Sarre, Languedoc, and the Remainder of their Canadians and Indians. Their Center was a Column, and formed by the Battalions of Bearn and Guienne. Their Left was composed of the Remainder of the Troops of the Colony, and the Battalion of Royal Rousillon. This was, as near as I can guess, their Line of Battle. They brought up two Pieces of small Artillery against us, and we had been able to bring up but one Gun; which being admirably well served, galled their Column exceedingly. My attention to the Left will not permit me to be very exact with regard to every Circumstance which passed in the Center, much less to the Right; but it is most certain, that the Enemy formed in good Order, and that their Attack was very brisk and animated on that Side. Our Troops reserved their Fire, till within forty Yards, which was so well continued, that the Enemy every where gave Way. It was then our General fell at the Head of Bragg's, and the Louisburg Grenadiers, advancing with their Bayonets: About the same Time Brigadier-General Monckton received his Wound at the Head of Lascelles's. In the Front of the opposite Battalions fell also M. Montcalm; and his second in Command is since dead of his Wounds on Board our Fleet. Part of the Enemy made a second faint Attack. Part took to some thick Copse Wood

(Reste Wanting)

FIRST PAGE OF THE "LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY," OCTOBER 17, 1759

1759 by Vaudreuil and Bigot had been carried off by the half-starved habitants. On the afternoon of the seventeenth, Townshend's batteries made ready to open fire. Saunders closed in with twelve ships of the line; troops on the heights were ready to storm the walls and seamen were waiting to carry the Lower Town. Finding his supplies exhausted, his men mutinous, an assault imminent, and assistance still problematical, Ramezay consented to surrender. The articles were signed by him on the evening of the seventeenth and by Townshend and Saunders on the morning of the eighteenth. Early in the afternoon, Townshend took formal possession of Quebec; Murray marched in at the head of the grenadiers and occupied the Upper Town while Captain Palliser with a naval brigade occupied the Lower Town. The garrison marched out with the honors of war and, a few days later, were sent to France in British transports.

Ramezay Gives up Quebec

September 18

Murray, the English Governor of Quebec

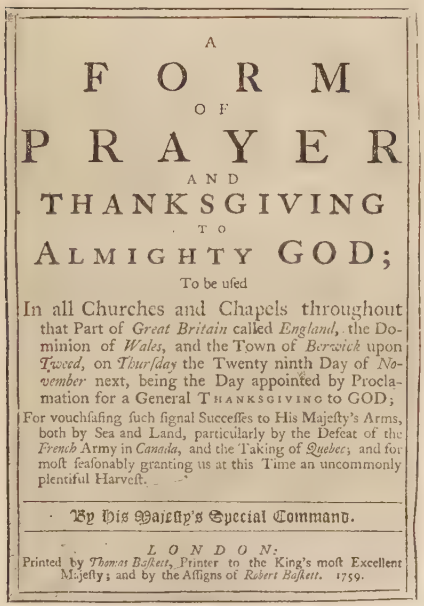
The secret royal instructions issued to Wolfe before he sailed from England provided that "In Case, by the Blessing of God upon Our Arms, you shall make yourself Master of Quebec, Our Will and Pleasure is that You do keep Possession of said Place, for which purpose, You are to appoint, out of the Troops under your command, a sufficient and ample Garrison under the Command of such care-

"Quebec Taken" Medal, 1759

ful and able officer, as You shall judge best qualified for so important a trust, effectually to defend and secure the said Place; And You will immediately make, in the best manner practicable, such repairs to the Works, as you shall find

necessary for the Defence thereof, until you shall receive further orders from Us." Accordingly, soldiers and sailors were promptly put at the work of destroying the intrenchments on the plains, clearing the streets of the city, repairing the houses, strengthening the fortifications, and unloading provisions and other stores. As Monckton was disabled and Townshend was anxious to return home, Murray was left as governor and commander of the British forces in Canada. In October, the fleet—one vessel of which carried the embalmed body of Wolfe—fired a parting salute and bore away for England. 1759

Wolfe's last letter to Pitt had reached London only two days before Townshend's account of the battle and Gloom and Gladness



A

FORM

OF

PRAYER

AND

THANKSGIVING

TO

ALMIGHTY GOD;

To be used

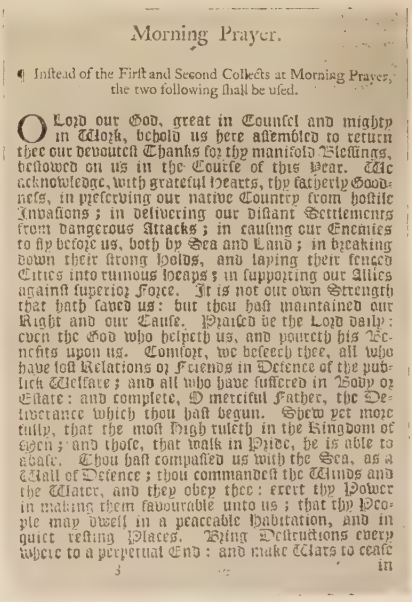
In all Churches and Chapels throughout that Part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, on *Thursday* the Twenty ninth Day of *November* next, being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a General THANKSGIVING to GOD;

For vouchsafing such signal Successes to His Majesty's Arms, both by Sea and Land, particularly by the Defeat of the *French* Army in *Canada*, and the Taking of *Quebec*; and for most seasonably granting us at this Time an uncommonly plentiful Harvest.

By His Majesty's Special Command.

LONDON:

Printed by *Thomas Baskett*, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of *Robert Baskett*. 1759.



Morning Prayer.

¶ Instead of the First and Second Collects at Morning Prayer, the two following shall be used.

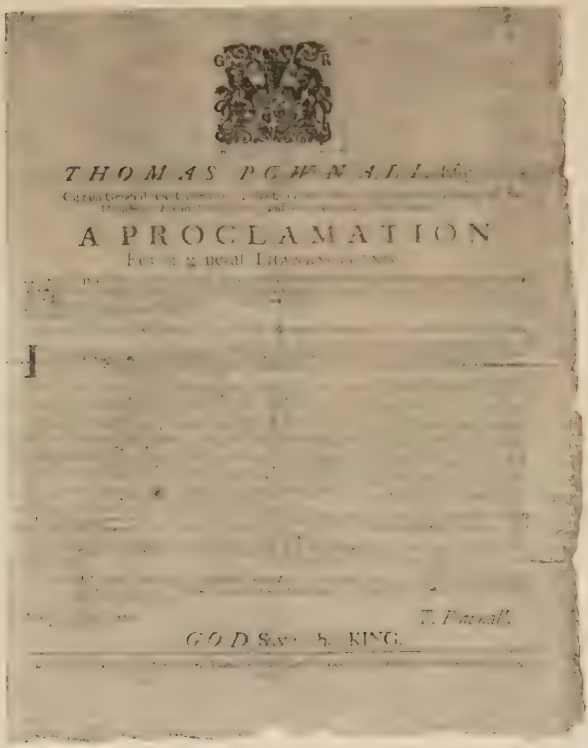
O Lord our God, great in Counsel and mighty in Work, behold us here assembled to return thee our devoutest Thanks for thy manifold Blessings, bestowed on us in the Course of this Year. We acknowledge, with grateful Hearts, thy fatherly Goodness, in preserving our native Country from hostile Invasions; in delivering our distant Settlements from dangerous Attacks; in causing our Enemies to fly before us, both by Sea and Land; in breaking down their strong Holds, and laying their fenced Cities into ruinous Heaps; in supporting our Allies against superior Force. It is not our own Strength that hath saved us: but thou hast maintained our Right and our Cause. Praised be the Lord daily: even the God who helpeth us, and poureth his Benefits upon us. Comfort, we beseech thee, all who have lost Relations or Friends in Defence of the publick Welfare; and all who have suffered in Body or Estate: and complete, O merciful Father, the Deliverance which thou hast begun. Shew yet more fully, that the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men; and those, that walk in Pride, he is able to abase. Thou hast compassed us with the Sea, as a Wall of Defence; thou commandest the Winds and the Water, and they obey thee: exert thy Power in making them favourable unto us; that thy People may dwell in a peaceable Habitation, and in quiet resting Places. Bring Destructions every where to a perpetual End: and make Wars to cease in

3

A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving, for the Defeat of the French and the Capture of Quebec

capitulation. The former letter, gloomy in tone, caused general dejection; on the very day that it was printed in the *Public Gazette* came the news of Wolfe's victory and death, and of the surrender of Quebec. The impression created is thus described by Walpole: "The

1759 incidents of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address to lead an audience from despondency to sudden exaltation. . . . They despaired, they triumphed, and they wept; for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory." Special resolutions were passed by parliament; a monument was voted in Westminster Abbey. All the English colonies in America were ringing with Wolfe's name; in Massachusetts, Governor Pownall proclaimed a day for the commemoration of the mercies of the preceding year, and all the pulpits resounded with sermons of thanksgiving. On the day of Wolfe's burial, Admiral Hawke won his brilliant victory, the naval counterpart of the battle of the plains, and England went wild with joy. Minden in August; Quebec in September; Quiberon in November—it was a great year for William Pitt.


THOMAS POWNALL
A PROCLAMATION
GOD Save the KING.

Thanksgiving Proclamation of Governor Thomas Pownall, November 10, 1759

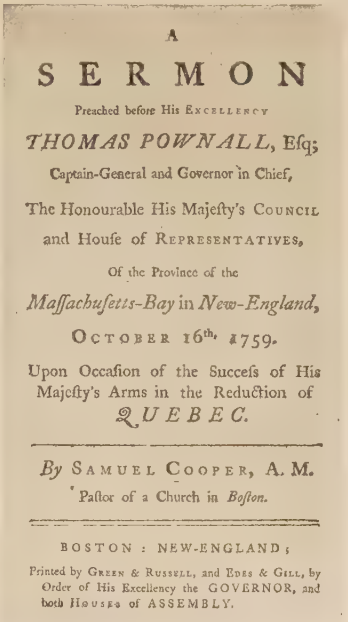
November 20

Quebec in Winter

In Canada, the coming of winter put an end to all important military operations. Quebec had been so badly battered by English cannon that it was difficult for the garrison to find shelter; even officers were quartered in stables. The clothing of the soldiers was not suited to the climate and their suffering from cold was increased by the scarcity of fuel. The cutting and dragging in of

firewood was one of the chief tasks of the troops and, as there were no horses, the hauling had to be done by the men. "Our guards on the grand parade," writes Knox, "make a most grotesque appearance in their different dresses; and our inventions to guard us against the extreme rigor of this climate are various beyond imagination. The uniformity as well as the nicety of the clean, methodical soldier is buried in the rough, fur-wrought garb of the frozen Laplander; and we rather resemble a masquerade than a body of regular troops, insomuch that I have frequently been accosted by my acquaintances, whom, though their voices were familiar to me, I could not discover, or conceive who they were. Besides, every man seems to be in a continual hurry; for instead of walking soberly through the streets, we are obliged to observe a running or trotting pace." The Highlanders, owing to their peculiar dress, suffered more than any of the other troops. When some of them were detached to guard the general hospital, the nuns knitted "for them long woolen hose, which they gratefully accepted, though at a loss to know whether modesty or charity inspired the gift." Even worse in its effects than the cold was the almost total lack of fresh provisions. "Scurvy carried off 682 men in the British garrison alone; salt pork and salt beef being the only meat obtainable. Discipline became lax, drunkenness common, semi-starvation universal. And any one venturing beyond the outposts was very likely to get scalped."

1759



A

SERMON

Preached before His EXCELLENCY

THOMAS POWNALL, Esq;

Captain-General and Governor in Chief,

The Honourable His Majesty's COUNCIL

and House of REPRESENTATIVES,

Of the Province of the

Massachusetts-Bay in *New-England*,

OCTOBER 16th, 1759.

Upon Occasion of the Success of His Majesty's Arms in the Reduction of

QUEBEC.

By SAMUEL COOPER, A. M.

Pastor of a Church in *Boston.*

BOSTON: NEW-ENGLAND;

Printed by GREEN & RUSSELL, and EDES & GILL, by Order of His Excellency the GOVERNOR, and both HOUSES of ASSEMBLY.

Title-page of Samuel Cooper's Sermon on the Reduction of Quebec

1759 Soldiers and Citizens

The winter was as trying to the inhabitants as it was to the soldiers. Murray, a humane and generous man, did all he could to relieve the suffering of the people and to disarm their hostility. He issued strict orders against injury to person or property, hanged a soldier who had robbed a citizen, and severely punished others for slighter offences of the same sort. He ordered that one day's rations be stopped weekly from each officer and soldier, the same to be distributed among Canadians who had taken the oath of allegiance. Although themselves on short allowance, the troops generally acquiesced willingly in this arrangement and treated the inhabitants with kindness. On their part, the Canadians displayed more friendliness than might have been expected. "It is very surprising," writes an officer, "with what ease the gayety of their tempers enables them to bear misfortune which to us would be insupportable. Families whom the calamities of war have reduced from the height of luxury to the want of common necessaries laugh, dance, and sing, comforting themselves with this reflection — *Fortune de guerre.* Their young ladies take the utmost pains to teach our officers French; with what view I know not, if it is not that they may hear themselves praised, flattered, and courted without loss of time."

Defamation of Character

While Montcalm slept in peace among triumphant enemies who respected his memory, Vaudreuil, "the patron, advocate and tool of the official villains who cheated the King and plundered the people," left Lévis in command of the French army that had withdrawn to Jacques-Cartier, and retired to Montreal. Once out of immediate personal danger and knowing that even the lax court officials would try to fix responsibility, he began his effort to discount the testimony of the dead general by a systematic defamation of his character. After throwing on Ramezay the blame for the surrender of

October 30

Quebec, he wrote to the minister of marine and colonies that "from the moment of M. de Montcalm's arrival in this colony down to that of his death, he did not cease to sacrifice everything to his boundless ambition. He

sowed dissension among the troops, tolerated the most indecent talk against the government, attached to himself the most disreputable persons, used means to corrupt the most virtuous, and, when he could not succeed, became their cruel enemy. He wanted to be governor-general. . . . He defamed honest persons, encouraged insubordination, and closed his eyes to the rapine of his Soldiers." This is simply a sample of Vaudreuil's correspondence — equally cowardly, infamous, and false. In one of his letters he even declared that Montcalm was killed while trying to escape from the English! 1759

Stress and Strain

Meanwhile, Vaudreuil and Lévis were laying plans for the recovery of Quebec. They asked for aid from France, aid that France could not give. The grand French scheme for the conquest of Hanover and the invasion of England had utterly failed. On the field of Minden, Ferdinand of Brunswick had met the French army of fifty thousand men under Contades and Broglie, broken its center, and forced it back on Frankfort and the Rhine. Off Lagos, Boscawen had met the Toulon squadron, captured some vessels, sunk or destroyed others, and scattered the rest. In September, France lost Montcalm and Quebec. In November, came the desperate engagement in Quiberon Bay and the brilliant victory of Sir Edward Hawke over the Brest fleet of the French. This last victory, called by Mahan "the Trafalgar" of the Seven Years' war, gave the English complete control of the sea, confirmed the results of the battle on the Plains of Abraham, and left the English squadrons freer than ever to raid French commerce, blockade French ports, and intercept any vessels destined for New France.

August 1

August 18

The Last Call

While hoping against hope that the French court might respond to their plea, Vaudreuil and Lévis made the most of their scanty resources. They sent occasional parties of Canadians and Indians to harass the English outposts and kept spies and agents in Quebec to report the English strength and dispositions. Provisions were gathered from far and near; cannons, mortars, and muni-

1760 tions of war were brought from the frontier posts, and knives were fitted to the muzzles of guns to serve in place of bayonets. Early in the spring, the militia were called out; stores and artillery were placed upon two frigates and some smaller craft lying in the river; and, on the twentieth of April, the army embarked for Quebec. When it left Montreal, the army amounted to about seven thousand men, including regulars, Canadians, and Indians; on the way down the river, this number was increased to perhaps eight or nine thousand.

Lévis Advances on Quebec

On the twenty-sixth of April, Lévis landed at Saint Augustin and advanced against the English outpost at Ancienne Lorette. The garrison abandoned the place and fell back to Sainte Foy on the upper declivity of the plateau of Quebec. Marching all that night through a frightful storm and over almost impassable roads, the

April 27

French followed and, at Sunday's dawn, were in front of the English position. Here a cannonade held them in check until Murray arrived with half the garrison of the city and some cannons that the men, drenched to the skin with the cold, drizzling rain, had dragged through the snow and mud — they had no horses. At Sainte Foy, they opened a lively fire upon the woods under cover of which lay the army of Lévis. In the afternoon, Murray led his men, including the withdrawn outposts of Sainte Foy, Cap Rouge, Sillery, and Anse au Foulon, back to the city.

Murray Marches to Meet Him

Murray's situation was dangerous, for provisions were scarce and, of the seven thousand men left in Quebec in the fall, fewer than four thousand were fit for duty and, of these, hardly one was free from scurvy. According to his report to Pitt, his plan had been to intrench himself "upon the Heights of Abraham, which entirely commanded the ramparts of the place at the distance of eight

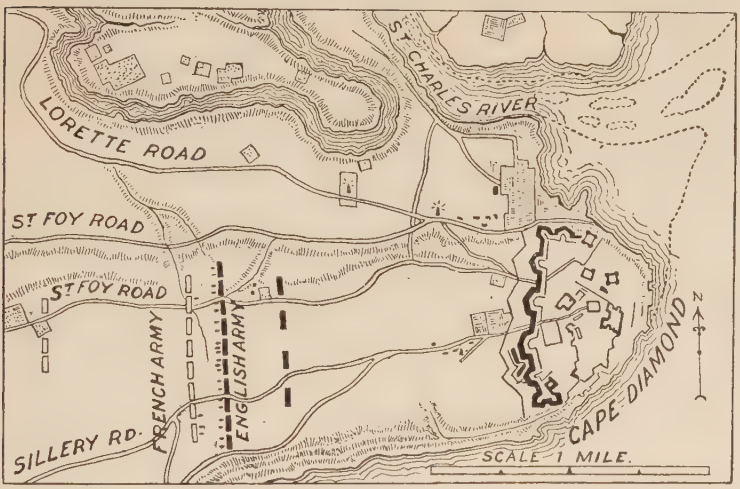
April 24-25

hundred yards," but when he attempted "to execute the projected lines, for which a Provision of Fascines, and of every necessary Material had been made, [he] found it impracticable, as the Earth was still covered with Snow in many places, and every where impregnably bound up by frost." Now, the only courses open to him were to

remain within the walls of Quebec or to fight a pitched battle in the open. Murray, a young man, "ardent, fearless, ambitious, and emulous of the fame of Wolfe," resolved to give battle; at half-past six o'clock on the morning of the twenty-eighth, he marched out with about three thousand men, twenty field-pieces, and two howitzers. Some of the soldiers dragged the cannons and others carried picks and spades. 1760

The Battle of Sainte Foy

Meanwhile Lévis had occupied the heights of Sainte Foy and was moving along the road toward Quebec. Two of his brigades had reached some blockhouses near the



Plan of the Battle at Quebec, April 28, 1760

Anse au Foulon and the main body was marching along the edge of a tract known as Sillery Wood, when Murray, who had gone forward to reconnoiter, caught sight of them. The English general at once decided to attack. His cannons opened with such effect that Lévis ordered his left to fall back to the cover of the woods. Murray mistook this movement for a retreat and ordered his whole army to push forward. This advance brought the English right into low, wet ground whence their artillery was ineffective, while it brought the left close to the woods from which the Canadians directed a deadly fire. The

1760 English fought with great obstinacy, but, overpowered by numbers, they were forced to retreat to Quebec, leaving all their cannons in the hands of the enemy. It had been one of the hardest fought battles of the war. The English loss was more than a thousand and that of the French about the same number. After the battle was over, the Indians, who had been of little service in the action, scattered themselves over the field and, it is said, scalped French and English indiscriminately.

The French Besiege Quebec

Greatly elated, the French now laid siege to the city, but not until the eleventh of May were they able to open upon it with artillery. The English were badly demoralized at first, but discipline was soon restored. The soldiers, many of them so weak that "the hyperbolical Sergeant Johnson" called them "half-starved, scorbutic skeletons," labored hard at strengthening the defenses with sand-bags, fascines, and chevaux-de-frise; even the officers worked with pickax, spade, and barrow and helped to drag up cannons from the Lower Town. The situation was extremely critical; all depended upon which side first received help. In the preceding fall, Lévis had sent to France a request that a vessel loaded with stores and siege artillery should be sent to him; he also expected a vessel that had wintered at Gaspé to come to his assistance. After his defeat, Murray had sent the ship "Racehorse" to Halifax with news of his position. Both armies therefore watched the river below the town with anxious eyes.

That Wonderful Navy

When, on the ninth of May, a ship-of-war appeared in the channel below Point Levis, excitement reached fever pitch and the garrison crowded to the ramparts. Would she show the red flag of England or the white flag of France? Slowly her colors rose to the masthead and unfurled to the wind the red cross of Saint George. It was the British frigate "Lowestoffe." "The gladness of the troops," writes Knox, "is not to be expressed. Both officers and soldiers mounted the parapet in the face of the enemy and huzzaed with their hats in the air for almost an hour. The garrison, the enemy's camp, the

bay, the circumadjacent country resounded with our shouts and the thunder of our artillery; for the gunners were so elated that they did nothing but load and fire for a considerable time." The frigate anchored before the Lower Town, fired a salute to the garrison, and sent word that a British fleet under Lord Colville was at the mouth of the Saint Lawrence. 1760

French Preparation

The French ships landed artillery at the Anse au Foulon for the siege-works that Lévis was building against the weak and weakened walls on the side of the city that looked toward the plateau. But the chief hope of Montcalm's successor had led him to watch the river not less eagerly than had Murray and his men. After the coming of the "Lowestoffe," Lévis opened fire, but Murray replied with an artillery better and more numerous than his own. The French had provided scaling ladders and petards preparatory to an attempt to carry the place by storm when, on the fifteenth of May, the British line-of-battle-ship "Vanguard" and another frigate, the "Diana," sailed into the harbor. On the following day, the "Lowestoffe" and the "Diana" attacked the French flotilla of six vessels lying above the town and, despite the heroic resistance of Vauquelin, the French officer who had greatly distinguished himself at Louisburg, captured or destroyed all but one of them. Upon the appearance of the "Vanguard" and the "Diana," Lévis had begun preparations to raise the siege of Quebec; after the destruction of his vessels, on which were his stores of food and ammunition, he retreated between two days, leaving behind him about fifty pieces of artillery, intrenching tools, tents, baggage, and all his sick and wounded.

May 16

Lévis Abandons Quebec

Amherst's Triple Plan

Meanwhile Amherst was preparing to carry out a triple plan for the complete conquest of New France. Murray, with what force he could muster, was to ascend the Saint Lawrence from Quebec; Brigadier William Haviland, who had served under Abercromby at Ticonderoga in 1758, was to force his way up Lake Champlain, take Isle

1760 aux Noix and descend the Richelieu. Amherst himself was to cross Lake Ontario from Oswego, descend the Saint Lawrence, and thus cut off any retreat to the country of the upper lakes. The three armies from the east, the south, and the west were to meet before Montreal and strike the final blow. But there was great danger that the three British armies might not move just as Amherst had anticipated, and that Lévis might concentrate the French forces and overpower one of the three detachments of the enemy.

Heroic Effort

The case of New France was now desperate. The entire force available for its defense amounted to not more than eight or ten thousand men, the Canadians were deserting daily, the western Indians had practically abandoned the French, even the mission Indians could no longer be depended upon. Munitions of war were almost exhausted, provisions were scarcer than ever, and the arrival of the English squadron under Admiral Colville at Quebec banished all hope of succor from abroad. Nevertheless, Vaudreuil and Lévis did not despair. They stationed seventeen or eighteen hundred men at various points along the Saint Lawrence to oppose Murray, and hoped that Bougainville would be able to hold Isle aux Noix and that La Corne would be able to defend the rapids above Montreal. They intended to maintain themselves as long as possible on the chance that peace might be made in Europe before the final catastrophe came.

May 18

Murray Moves on Montreal

As soon as weather permitted, Murray moved his invalids from the city hospitals to the Island of Orleans where fresh air, improved diet, and more wholesome sanitary conditions wrought such changes that, in a few weeks, many of the "half-starved scorbutic skeletons" were fit for garrison duty. On the fifteenth of July, Murray left Quebec for Montreal with twenty-four hundred and fifty officers and men in thirty-two vessels, besides a number of boats and bateaux; they were followed somewhat later by Lord Rollo and thirteen hundred men from Louisburg. As Murray's force passed

slowly up the Saint Lawrence, landings were made from time to time to disarm the inhabitants, to administer oaths of neutrality, and to trade for fresh provisions. There were occasional skirmishes, but no conflict that could be called a battle. When they reached the village of Sorel, they found Bourlamaque with two or three thousand men intrenched along the strand while Dumas with another force defended the northern shore. Both of these French detachments were under orders to keep abreast of the slowly advancing English fleet. Lévis and his main army were at Montreal, and Montreal was not far away. Murray realized the danger that Lévis would unite his forces with those of Bourlamaque and Dumas and attack him at the first favorable opportunity. He therefore sent out four or five rangers to get news of Haviland.

1760

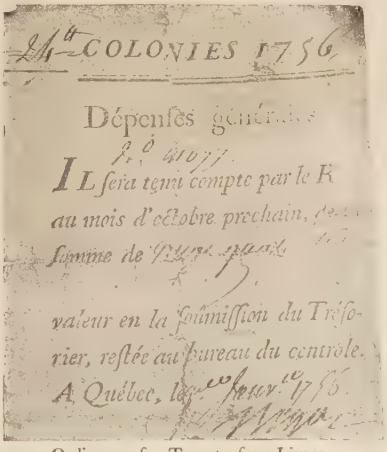
August 12

August 13

To induce the Canadians to desert, Murray issued a proclamation threatening to burn all houses from which the men were absent and actually destroyed the dwellings in the lower part of the parish of Sorel. In reporting the matter to Pitt, Murray wrote, "I pray God this Example may suffice, for my nature revolts when this becomes a necessary part of my duty." Those of the inhabitants who made submission he treated with great kindness and consideration. To counteract the English policy, Vaudreuil was "compelled," he wrote to France, "to decree the pain of death to the Canadians who are so dastardly as to desert or give up their arms to the enemy, and to order that the houses of those who do not join our army shall be burned." This proclamation does not appear to have been enforced very rigorously and had

Proclamations and Desertions

August 24


COLONIES 1756
Dépenses
IL sera tenu compte par le R
au mois d'octobre prochain,
valeur en la soumission du Tréso-
rier, restée au bureau du contrôle.
A Québec,

Ordinance for Twenty-four Livres, Signed by Bigot

1760 little effect. The Canadians, who hitherto had displayed a constancy most commendable, now recognized that the end was at hand. Ruined by years of war and knowing that the king for whom they had fought so long had repudiated practically the whole currency of the colony, they were ready to give up the struggle. By the end of August, Bourlamaque had lost half his force by desertion and the other commanders were not much more fortunate. Murray landed his troops on an island just below Montreal to await the coming of Amherst and Haviland, and Vaudreuil wrote from Montreal: "I shall remain in this town, the Chevalier de Lévis having represented to me that it would be an evil to the colonists past remedy if any accident should happen to me."

Haviland On the Way

Meanwhile Haviland had been forcing his way down the Richelieu. About the middle of August, he left Crown Point with thirty-four hundred regulars, provincials, and Indians, and, in four days, arrived before Isle aux Noix. Here he found Bougainville with about fourteen hundred men, while at Saint John, twelve miles below, lay Roquemaure with twelve or fifteen hundred more besides the Indian allies. While the main part of the English army bombarded the island in front, Major Darby with a detachment of light infantry and the omnipresent Rogers with his rangers dragged a few light pieces through the woods of the eastern bank to a point below the island and opened fire on the French naval force in Bougainville's rear. The largest vessel drifted ashore and was captured; the others attempted to escape but were stranded in a bend of the river. Some of the rangers swam out to one of them and carried her; the others then surrendered.

Waiting for Amherst

August 27

Finding his communications with the rear thus cut and in accordance with instructions from Vaudreuil, Bougainville abandoned the island in the night, worked his difficult way through the forest, and joined Roquemaure at Saint John. Haviland pushed forward and forced the French to abandon Saint John and Chambly and to join Bourlamaque on the banks of the Saint Lawrence. Havi-

land opened communications with Murray and both waited for Amherst. 1760

In July, Amherst, deliberate and slow as usual, had assembled an army at Oswego. On the tenth of August, he embarked on Lake Ontario a force of more than ten thousand troops and about seven hundred Indians under Sir William Johnson. On the fifteenth, his flotilla of boats emerged from among the Thousand Isles and, three days later, appeared before Fort Levis, a fortification built the year before on a small island in the river near the head of the rapids. Unwilling to leave the fort in his rear and hoping to capture pilots to guide his boats down the rapids, Amherst lingered to lay siege to it—just as the enemy hoped that he would do. Lévis, apparently not familiar with Amherst's peculiarities, had lately written to Bourlamaque: "We shall be fortunate if the enemy amuse themselves with capturing it. My chief anxiety is lest Amherst should reach Montreal so soon that we may not have time to unite our forces to attack Haviland or Murray." Having invested the fort that he might have passed with little injury and left with little danger, Amherst opened a cannonade from his fleet, the mainland, and the neighboring islands. The commandant of the fort was the Captain Pouchot who had been captured at Fort Niagara the year before and since exchanged. He defended Fort Levis with great spirit for several days and inflicted considerable loss upon the besiegers, but at last was forced to surrender. When Johnson's Indians were denied the pleasure of killing the prisoners, most of them, in rage and disgust, abandoned the expedition.

Amherst and His Flotilla

August 22

M. Pouchot Again

August 25

From the Canadian prisoners, Amherst selected thirty-six to conduct the more than eight hundred whaleboats and bateaux through the rapids. In long files and without much loss, the flotilla passed through the Galops, the Rapide-Plat, the Long Sault, and the Coteau du Lac, and then approached the more formidable ones below, the Cedars, the Buisson, and the Cascades, "where the reckless surges dashed and bounded in the sun, beautiful and terrible as young tigers at play." Here forty-six boats

Running the Rapids

1760 September 4

were totally wrecked, eighteen more were damaged, and eighty-four men were drowned. Vaudreuil and Lévis had intended that La Corne should harass the English during the perilous passage, but so many of his men had deserted that he did not dare to attempt anything. On the fifth of September, the English flotilla glided peacefully over the smooth surface of Lake Saint Louis. On the sixth, the troops landed at La Chine, marched nine miles, and encamped before the walls of Montreal.

Rigor Mortis

The curtain had now risen on the final scene. On the day after Amherst appeared before the town, Murray landed below it; Haviland had already occupied a position on the southern bank of the river. The total English force amounted to seventeen thousand men. Many of the French regulars and all of the militia had deserted; with their respective remnants, Bourlamaque, Bougainville, and Roquemaure joined Lévis in Montreal; together they had only twenty-two hundred troops of the line and two hundred colonial regulars; even these were in a state bordering on mutiny. The cannons that Amherst was getting ready to bring up from La Chine would quickly batter down the walls of Montreal; the position of the French was hopeless. Vaudreuil assembled a council of war in his chateau. The principal French and colonial officers were there and all agreed that further resistance was out of the question; the day against which they had valiantly fought for six long years had arrived. A paper containing fifty-five articles of capitulation drawn up by the governor for submission to the English was unanimously approved.

Montreal in 1760

In the morning of the seventh, Bougainville arrived in the English camp to ask a six months' truce. It was, of course, refused and, about noon, he reappeared with Vaudreuil's proposed articles of capitulation. Most of these were accepted by Amherst and some were modified; the rest were refused. To the proposition that the French troops should retain their arms and march out with the honors of war, Amherst replied: "The whole garrison of Montreal and all other French troops in Canada must lay down their arms, and shall not serve during the present war." Lévis did everything in his power to secure more liberal terms, but the English general was inflexible. "I am fully resolved," he said, "for the infamous part the troops of France have acted in exciting the savages to perpetrate the most unheard of barbarities in the whole progress of the war, and for other open treacheries and flagrant breaches of faith, to manifest to all the world by this capitulation my detestation of such practices." This message was sent back as Amherst's ultimatum and with a demand for an immediate reply, "Yes or No." Lévis blustered about further resistance and asked permission of Vaudreuil "to retire with the land forces to St. Helen's island (Sainte Hélène), in order to sustain there, in our own name, the honor of the king's arms, resolved to expose ourselves to every sort of extremity rather than submit to conditions which appear to us so contrary thereto." The request was refused, as he no doubt expected it would be, and, on the morning of the eighth, Vaudreuil signed the capitulation.

1760 The Fall of New France

Enraged at his humiliation, Lévis broke his sword and ordered the officers to burn the flags in order to avoid the necessity of surrendering them. When the troops marched to the Place d'Armes without colors, the English insisted upon an explanation. Lévis then swore that the regiments had not had any flags, and Vaudreuil and other officers joined him, says Amherst, "in giving their words of honour that the battalions had not any Colours; they had brought them six years ago with them, they

Humiliation and Anger

1760 were torn to Pieces, and finding them troublesome in
1763 this Country, they had destroyed them."

The Terms Granted

All in all, the terms granted by Amherst were liberal. The French troops and sailors, civil and military officers, were to be sent to France in British ships. The Cana-

"Montreal Taken" Medal

dians were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion and there was to be no interference with the rights, privileges, or possessions of their religious communities. They who chose to go to France were at liberty to do so and they who chose to remain were to be protected in person and property. Canada and its dependencies passed to the British crown.

The Exodus

The capitulation over, an exodus began. The French military officers, the chief civil officers, and the soldiers who had not become attached to the country were sent to France according to agreement. A large part of the *noblesse* followed them, but the great mass of the common people remained and, under the new régime, became happier, more prosperous, and better governed than they had been under the old. The passage of many of the vessels to France was made perilous by furious autumnal storms and one, the "Auguste," described as a "floating Babylon," was wrecked on the coast of Cape Breton. The seven who gained the beach, one of whom was the celebrated partisan, La Corne, "saw the ship break asunder and counted a hundred and fourteen corpses strewn along the sand."

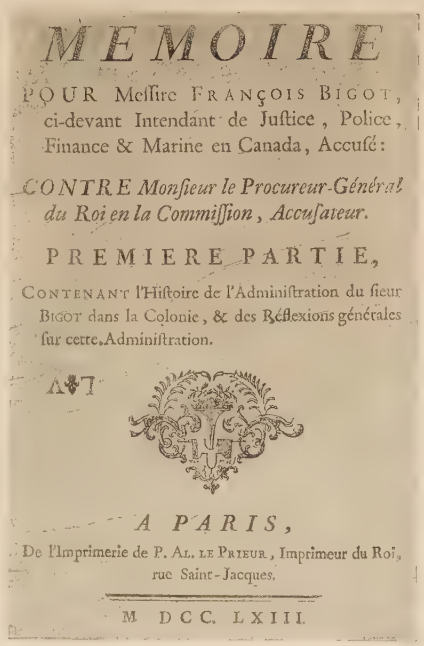
Retribution

Of those who reached France, many found but "a dis-

mal welcome." Bigot was received at Versailles with the bitterest reproaches and, with Vaudreuil, Cadet, and others of "la Grande Société," was seized and thrown into the Bastille, accused of the frauds and peculations that had helped to ruin Canada. Bigot and Cadet brazenly denied all accusations until irrefragable proof of their guilt was brought before their eyes; then they attempted to shield themselves by enveloping as many other persons as possible in their accusations. The process was a long one; it was not until the tenth of December, 1763, that judgment was pronounced. Bigot was banished for life, was condemned to pay fifteen hundred thousand francs by way of restitution, and his property was confiscated. It would seem, however, that the sentence was not carried out rigorously, for he retired to Bordeaux where he spent the remainder of his life in ease and comfort. Cadet was banished from Paris for nine years and was forced to refund six million francs, but the penalty of banishment was remitted by the king in the following May. In 1778, Cadet purchased a time-honored barony and thus became a peer of old France. Varin received a sentence similar to that given Bigot, and others were forced to restore sums varying from thirty thousand to six hundred thousand livres and were to be imprisoned until the amount was paid. Of twenty-one brought to trial, ten were found guilty, six

1763

December 10


MEMOIRE

POUR Meſſire FRANÇOIS BIGOT, ci-devant Intendant de Juſtice, Police, Finance & Marine en Canada, Accuſé:

CONTRE Monſieur le Procureur-Général du Roi en la Commiſſion, Accuſateur.

PREMIERE PARTIE,

CONTENANT l'Hiſtoire de l'Adminiſtration du ſieur BIGOT dans la Colonie, & des Réflexions générales ſur cette Adminiſtration.

A PARIS,

De l'Imprimerie de P. AL. LE PRIEUR, Imprimeur du Roi, rue Saint-Jacques.

M DCC. LXIII.

Title-page of the *Mémoire* Published upon Bigot's Accusation

1760 1763 were acquitted, three were admonished, and two were released for lack of proof. Of thirty-four who failed to appear, seven were condemned in default and sentenced to various penalties, while judgment was reserved in the case of the rest.

Vaudreuil

Vaudreuil was one of the six who were acquitted. He was undoubtedly guilty of winking at the peculations practised by Bigot and his confederates, but he had been industrious and energetic in defending the colony and had returned to France a ruined man. In justice, it should be set down to his credit that he had loved New France and had endeavored to preserve her. He has found warm defenders among the descendants of those over whom he ruled, but the historian cannot ignore his cruel use of Indian allies, his double dealing, his jealousy, his overweening conceit, and the hyena-like malignity with which he traduced the dead Montcalm.

Thanksgiving and Praise

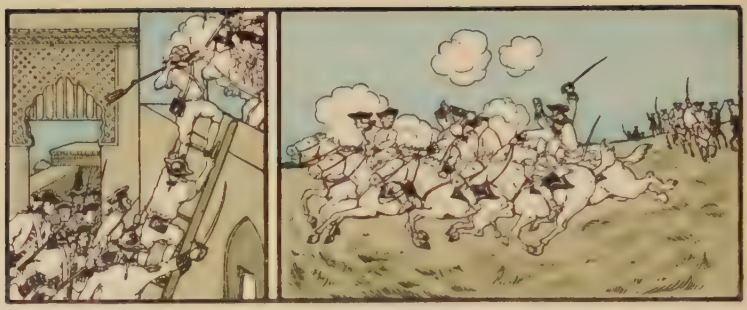
Needless to say, the news of the capitulation was received with great rejoicing in England and with greater rejoicing in the colonies. There were civic and military parades, shoutings, and the burning of much powder, bonfires and illuminations, public dinners, and countless

"Canada Subdued" Medal

sermons of thanksgiving and praise. In Massachusetts, Governor Bernard, lately transferred from New Jersey, proclaimed a day of thanksgiving and, as usual, the heart of New England "found voice through her pulpits." Without the conquest of Canada, "we could hope for no lasting quiet in these parts," but that conquest had

required seventy years of costly struggle and many bitter disappointments. "Now through the good hand of our God upon us, we see the happy day of its accomplishment." "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." "God has given us to sing this day the downfall of New France, the North American Babylon, New England's rival," proclaimed Chaplain Eli Forbes at Brookfield, while at Cambridge Nathaniel Appleton, with prophetic vision of the new era asked: "Who can tell what great and glorious things God is about to bring forward in the world, and in this world of America in particular?" Canada had fallen. The future of North America was now in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon, and the British colonists breathed for a while "as they drifted towards a deadlier strife." 1760

The Next Thing



CHAPTER XVII

THE PEACE OF PARIS

1759
1760
The Seven Years' War

WHILE Wolfe and Amherst were conducting their campaigns against Quebec and Montreal, the world-wide war of which the conflict in North America was but an isolated phase had raged with unabated violence. Before entering into a consideration of the peace negotiations that ended the war, it will be necessary to turn attention briefly to the progress of military and political events in the Old World.

In India

In these two years, English arms had been everywhere triumphant. In 1757, the great victory at Plassey had made the English masters of Bengal. In the following year, General Lally, a member of an old Irish Jacobite family, arrived at Pondicherry as the French commander-in-chief. On the first of June, 1758, he captured Fort David, but was compelled by lack of supplies and ammunition to give up the siege of Tanjore. In the meantime, the French fleet had been defeated by the English, but Lally managed to collect the means for an attempt upon Madras. He had succeeded in capturing the Black Town and had effected a breach in the fort when the

February 16, 1759

arrival of Admiral Pocock with powerful reinforcements forced him to raise the siege. In the following November, Sir Eyre Coote took the French fort of Wandewash and, on the twenty-second of December, completely defeated Lally in a pitched battle near that place and thus decided the destiny of Madras as Clive's great victory at Plassey had decided that of Bengal. The English

followed up their success, captured fortress after fortress, and, on January 16, 1761, extinguished French power in India by taking Pondicherry. 1759 1760

In Germany, where England's ally, Frederick of Prussia, was fighting against tremendous odds, the war was marked by great vicissitudes of fortune. When the campaign of 1758 closed, the veteran soldiers with whom Frederick had begun the war had been in large part swept away and had to be replaced by raw levies or by mercenaries. The campaign of 1759 opened with an advance of the Austrians under Daun into Saxony, while a Russian army threatened Silesia and at Züllichau completely defeated a Prussian army under General Wendell. Frankfort-on-Oder fell into Russian hands and Frederick, gathering every soldier that he could, marched in person against his Slavic foe. Daun detached General Laudohn with eight thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry to assist the Russians. The two armies, the Prussian of fifty thousand and the Russo-Austrian of eighty or ninety thousand met at Kunersdorf near Frankfort. At first, the impetuous valor of the Prussians carried everything before it. The enemy's left wing was broken, a hundred and eighty cannons were taken, and a courier was sent to Berlin with news of a complete victory.

In Germany

Frederick the Great

But the Russians fell back to high ground and there obstinately repulsed all efforts to dislodge them. Frederick led three charges in person, but all in vain. At the critical moment, the fresh and fiery cavalry of Laudohn fell upon the weary Prussians and a terrible rout resulted. In despair, Frederick sought death; in the

Frederick's Disastrous Defeat

1759 course of the day, two horses were killed under him, his
1760 clothes were torn with bullets one of which flattened itself on a gold snuff-box in his waistcoat pocket, and his aides forced him from the field. All the artillery was lost; nineteen thousand Prussians were killed, wounded, or taken; of the fifty thousand men who had marched that morning under his banners, not three thousand remained together. The great king bethought himself of the corrosive sublimate that he habitually carried and wrote adieus to his friends. "I have no resource left. All is lost. Farewell forever."

Minden

Frederick's enemies did not follow up their advantage. He collected his scattered troops, assembled reinforcements, secured artillery from the neighboring fortresses, and once more had an army. But fortune continued to frown. In September, Dresden fell and, in November, the Austrians captured General Finck with several thousand men at Maxen, and General Dierecke with fifteen hundred men at Meissen. The only encouraging feature of "this infernal campaign," as Frederick called it, lay in the west. There Prince Ferdinand, although defeated at Bergen in April, had won at Minden in August a far more important battle and one that would have resulted in the destruction of the French if Lord George Sackville, who commanded the English cavalry, had not at a critical moment disobeyed an order to charge. As it was, the French lost seven thousand men and thirty cannons. For the time being, Hanover and Prussia were relieved of danger from the west.

Frederick's Campaign of 1760

Frederick made extraordinary efforts to prepare himself for the new campaign. His depleted ranks were strengthened by an unsparing conscription, prisoners of war were compelled to enlist under his banners, mercenaries were attracted or inveigled from other states, great sums were pitilessly exacted from the inhabitants of provinces occupied by Prussian troops, and the Saxon woods were cut down and sold to speculators. In spite of all his preparations, the campaign opened unfavorably. In August, 1760, three Austrian armies closed around him

and the Russians were not far away; but Frederick defeated Laudohn and managed to escape. This success was partly counterbalanced by the plundering of Berlin by a force of Austrians and Russians. Frederick forced the raiders to retire and then turned again into Saxony where he attacked his old antagonist, Daun, at Torgau. Although Daun had the advantage of an almost impregnable position and an army that outnumbered the Prussians three to two, Frederick drove him from his position and inflicted a loss of twenty thousand. But the Prussians lost fourteen thousand and the victory brought neither peace nor safety. 1760 August 15 November 3

The campaign of 1761 was marked by no great battles. Frederick managed to hold his own, but each year found him weaker, so much nearer the end of his resources. "It is only Fortune," he wrote, "that can extricate me from the situation I am in. I escape out of it by looking at the universe on the great scale like an observer from some distant planet. All then seems to be so infinitely small that I could almost pity my enemies for giving themselves so much trouble about so little. I read a great deal, I devour my books. But for them I think hypochondria would have had me in Bedlam before now. In fine, dear Marquis, we live in troublous times and desperate situations. I have all the properties of a stage hero; always in danger, always on the point of perishing." His prospects had been further darkened by the sudden death of the aged George II.—the beginning of a complete revolution in the politics of England. Death of George II. January 18, 1762 October 25, 1760

The next English king was George III., a young man twenty-two years of age, and grandson of his predecessor. The new monarch's education had not well fitted him for his new station. His father had died when the young prince was in his thirteenth year. With strange oversight, the Whig leaders had allowed the lad to fall into the hands of preceptors of Tory and even of Jacobite proclivities. These instructors did not succeed in imparting much literary culture to their pupil, but they did succeed in developing in him an exalted idea of George III.

1760 the powers that a king ought to exercise—an idea that would have been more appropriate in a scion of the house of Hanover. In this work they were much aided by the prince's mother who habitually exaggerated the prerogatives of monarchy and persistently reiterated her favorite injunction: "George, be a king."

His Characteristics

George III. grew into a strong and well-formed young man with pleasant manners, although his stammering speech and habit of saying, "Hey! hey!" and "What! what!" served to conceal some of the ability that he really possessed. He was religious and, in his private morals, was much superior to any king who had occupied the throne since Charles I. He was, however, neither generous nor frank, had strong prejudices and indomitable obstinacy, and was exceedingly tenacious of his resentments. As a boy, he had been constitutionally indolent, but he overcame this weakness; few kings have shown greater capacity or taste for the microscopic minutiæ of administration or less for the larger aspects of government. He was so exceedingly painstaking and scrupulously accurate that, in dating his letters, he indicated not only the day but also the hour and the minute

Arms of George III.

at which they were written; hundreds of letters written by him bearing such superscriptions as "$\frac{M}{19}$ pt. 2 A. M.," i. e., nineteen minutes past two in the morning, constitute unique and remarkable testimony to his industry and to his pettiness of mind. 1760

Owing to the secluded life that he had led, he came to the throne with a mind only half opened. The Earl of Bute

For some time, he was entirely under the influence of his mother and of John Stuart, the earl of Bute. This Scotch nobleman had held a position in the household of George's father and, after the establishment of the young prince's household, had been put at the head of it as groom of the stole. He had little ability and less experience in public life; he was unpopular in his temperament and held extreme views concerning the legitimate powers of royalty. He was a man of some literary and artistic taste and was exceedingly fond of amateur theatricals for which one of his chief qualifications was "a handsome leg, to which both painters and satirists gave

Yours most Sincerely
Bute

1760 prominence." His confidential relations with the queen mother gave rise to the rumor that he was her favored lover; whether the rumor was true or not, it was generally believed. From the beginning of the new reign, the effect of Bute's influence was dreaded by many.

English-born

In general, however, the accession of the new king was received with much enthusiasm; he was not yet guilty of the political errors by which he later inflicted "more profound and enduring injuries upon his country than any other modern English king." Unlike the previous Hanoverian rulers, he was English-born and was proud of the fact. His grandfather and great-grandfather had been German by birth and by training; their chief interests had been Hanoverian, not English. "Born and educated in this country," George III. declared in his first speech to parliament, "I glory in the name of Britain [*sic*]."

Tory Support

Under such favorable circumstances, the sentiment of loyalty, which for some time had seemed to be "as much out of date as the belief in witches or the practice of pilgrimages," began to revive. "The Tories in particular, who had always been inclined to king-worship and who had long felt with pain the want of an idol before whom they could bow themselves down, were as joyful as the priests of Apis, when, after a long interval, they had found a new calf to adore." Tory families that had not been seen at court since the death of Anne now appeared at Saint James's, and the whole party transferred to the young king the loyalty that they had long and vainly entertained for the exiled Stuarts.

Bolingbroke and Blackstone

King George had read Bolingbroke's essay "On the Idea of a Patriot King," in which was set forth the theory that the sovereign should select his ministers from all parties and direct them to carry out policies determined by himself. He had also read portions of the unpublished manuscript of Blackstone's "Commentaries," in which it was stated that "The King of England is not only the chief, but properly the sole magistrate of the nation, all others acting by commission from and in due subordination to him. . . . He governs the

kingdom: statesmen, who administer affairs, are only his ministers." 1760

Government by Parliament

Thanks to political development since the revolution of 1688, George III. found that his position as English king was very different from that described by Bolingbroke and Blackstone and still further removed from the ideal entertained by the Stuarts. The limitations to which the new king was practically subject went far beyond the letter of the law; he was well on the way to the position of the present English monarch, that of a king who "reigns but does not govern." The ministry and parliament carried on the government and determined what policies should be pursued. Parliament then was not as nearly as it is now representative of the English people: only a small proportion of the people had the right to vote; actual power was largely in the hands of the great Whig families. Surrounded as he was by Tories and imbued with Tory principles, it is not strange that the young king should seek to emancipate his office from the restrictions that surrounded it and to raise it to a position more in accord with monarchical theories.

Whig Intrenchments

The task that the king and his friends set for themselves, that of changing the political center of gravity of England, was a difficult one, for the Whigs were strongly intrenched. Their power rested on their family connections, the memory of past services, and the arts of political patronage. Still more important were the facilities for parliamentary corruption afforded by the condition of the constituencies. Many of the boroughs, established perhaps in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had utterly decayed and others had been created by the Tudors and the early Stuarts with the distinct intention of keeping them subservient to the crown. The members for these "rotten boroughs" were nominated by the crown or by some neighboring landowner and it was the business of such a party manager as Newcastle to enlist the patrons on the Whig side. In 1780, it was asserted that two hundred members of the house of commons were returned by places having fewer than a hundred

1760 voters each, and that three hundred and fifty-seven mem-
1761 bers were practically nominated by one hundred and fifty-four patrons. "So long as such forces remained in the hands of the Whigs, their position was impregnable." Nevertheless, the king determined to attack it. His hopes of success hung upon the assistance of the long excluded Tories, of disaffected Whigs, and of the great body of electors who had been able hitherto to do little more than to register the choice made by their patrons.

Pitt's Arrogance

It was evident that the overthrow of Pitt must be the first thing done. There were many Whigs who were eager to lend a hand in such an undertaking. Pitt's victories had made him irresistible with the people, but he was not popular with the leaders of his party. He was arrogant to the last degree, bullied his colleagues like schoolboys, and compelled no less a man than Anson to sign orders as first lord of the admiralty without allowing him to read them. Many of his colleagues were jealous of him, others were offended by his imperious and haughty demeanor, while still others were aghast at the tremendous drains that the war was making on the treasury.

Bute at Work

March, 1761

Portrait of Lord Holderness when a Boy

The new king was no sooner seated on his throne than the change in spirit became apparent. Bute was at once sworn of the privy council and soon became the real source of governmental power. The work of undermining the ministry was at once begun. Lord Holderness was induced to resign his position as a secretary of state and

Bute was appointed to the vacancy. About the same time, the chancellor of the exchequer, who had quarreled with Bute about a Hampshire election, was dismissed and his place was given to Lord Barrington, a man who believed that in political matters it was his first duty to support the king. 1759 1762

English Sentiment

An opportunity for striking Pitt soon presented itself. The great question then before the country concerned the making of peace. Negotiations looking to that end had taken place as early as November, 1759, and again in the spring of 1761, but neither party seems to have been very much in earnest. In England there was much difference of opinion as to what terms should be exacted; Pitt was determined to humiliate and weaken France to the utmost, while the king, Newcastle, Bute, and others were inclined to be more lenient.

The King of Spain

In France, the financial exhaustion made peace almost a necessity, but just then a new ally appeared. In 1759, Charles III. had exchanged the throne of the Two Sicilies for that of Spain. A score of years before, he had been eager to enter into the war for partitioning the dominions of Maria Theresa, but an English fleet had appeared before Naples and given him an hour in which to sign a treaty of neutrality. From that hour, his inborn Bourbon hatred for England had been intensified. When he became king of Spain, he inherited the old grievances about Gibraltar, Minorca, and the trade of the Indies. Moreover, he was jealous of the growing naval supremacy of England and thought he saw a favorable opportunity for the conquest of Portugal. France and Spain entered into negotiation and, on the fifteenth of August, 1761, a new "Family Compact," was secretly signed binding them to an offensive and defensive alliance and guaranteeing the possessions of each. On the same day, the two powers signed a secret convention whereby Spain agreed that if peace between France and England had not been made by the first of May, 1762, Spain would declare war upon England.

The Family Compact

It was not long before Pitt had an inkling of the treaty.

1761 1762 Pitt's Resignation

He was confident that the declaration of war was merely postponed until the annual Spanish treasure fleet had arrived safely at home. He wished to declare war at once, capture the fleet, and, it is said, to send expeditions against Havana and the Philippines. His plan met with strenuous opposition from the king and cabinet and was finally rejected. Some of the ministers affected to doubt the correctness of Pitt's information; some shrank from the responsibility of advising a course so bold; some were weary of his ascendancy and were glad to be rid of him on any pretext. Only Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, supported him. On the fifth of October, 1761, the two resigned.

War with Spain

The wisdom of Pitt's advice soon became manifest. The great minister was scarcely out of office before the Spanish court dropped the conciliatory tone it had assumed and, as soon as the treasure ships were safe at home, threw off the mask completely. Military and naval preparations were hastened, the "Family Compact" was openly avowed, and an English demand that Spain promise not to join in the hostilities was haughtily refused. England thereupon declared war and Spain began an invasion of Portugal. The hand of the great war minister was no longer at the helm, but his spirit still permeated the army and navy—victory followed victory. Martinique was captured and the conquest of the other French West Indies followed. In March, Lord Albemarle set out on an expedition against Cuba for which Massachusetts and Connecticut furnished more than four thousand men. After a long and desperate siege, Havana was taken in August, as was Manila two months later. In Portugal, the Spanish army was at first successful, but later met with reverses at the hands of the Portuguese and English forces.

January 2, 1762

Pitt Gets the Credit

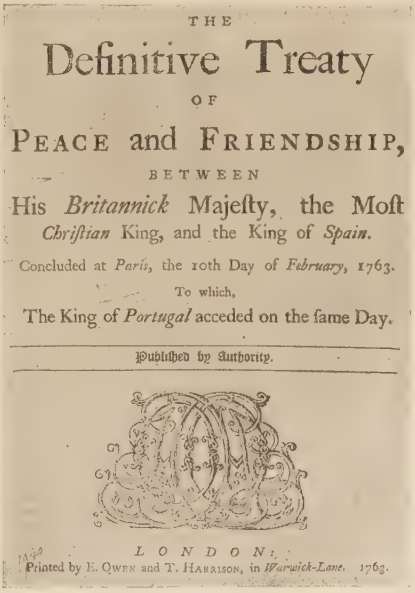
These successes did not strengthen the position of the king and his ministry, for the general public gave to Pitt the credit for them; they were "regarded as a justification of his wisdom and as a condemnation of his enemies. It was known that the war with Spain was his policy; that

he had sent out the expedition against Martinique; that its success was mainly due to the troops his victories had liberated in America; that he had planned the conquest of Havana; that if his counsels had been adopted, the number of rich Spanish prizes that were brought into English harbours would have been greatly increased." On the other hand, Bute was spoken of as one "whose only support was court favor and whose only talent lay in court intrigue." 1762

Newcastle's Humiliation

Newcastle had witnessed the fall of Pitt with exultation, for he believed that he would recover his former ascendancy. He soon found how greatly he had miscalculated. Important official acts were performed without his being informed of them, much less consulted concerning them. His power of patronage was practically taken away; the king treated him with coldness, the king's favorite chilled him with discourtesy. When Bute announced his intention of withholding the Prussian subsidy, Newcastle refused to consent and resigned. Bute then became the first lord of the treasury and, in name as well as in fact, the prime minister. For the first time since the Hanoverians ascended the throne, the Tory party was in control of the government.

May 25


THE
Definitive Treaty
OF
PEACE and FRIENDSHIP,
BETWEEN
His *Britannick* Majeſty, the Moſt *Chriſtian* King, and the King of *Spain*.
Concluded at *Paris*, the 10th Day of *February*, 1763.
To which,
The King of *Portugal* acceded on the ſame Day.
Publiſhed by Authority.
LONDON:
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Title-page of the *Definitive Treaty*

Peace Preliminaries

The Tory party was anxious for peace, both for its own sake and to avoid the danger of Pitt's return to power. France was in desperate need of peace, and Spain was beginning to weary of the war. On the third of November, 1762, at Fontainebleau, the three nations

1762–1763 signed preliminary articles which, in February, were converted into the definitive Peace of Paris. While England obtained less than she might reasonably have demanded, she gained great advantages. She recovered Minorca, retained some of her conquests from France, and restored others. From Spain she received Florida and to Spain she restored Havana, Manila, and her other conquests. In consideration of the losses sustained by her ally, France, by a separate convention, ceded to Spain the Isle of Orleans on the east side of the Mississippi and the vast territory of Louisiana on the west of that river.

Choiseul's Warning

The great question concerned the disposition to be made of Canada. There were Englishmen who contended that it was of so little value that it would be better to restore it to France and to retain instead the rich sugar island of Guadeloupe in the West Indies. It was also urged that it would be wise to leave New France to act as a check upon the English colonies lest they should seek their independence. The French minister of foreign affairs gave the warning that the colonies "would not fail to shake off their dependence the moment Canada should be ceded," a reflection that the colonists repelled with vigor. Franklin wrote: "If they could not agree to unite against the French and Indians, can it reasonably be supposed that there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which it is well known they all love much more than they love one another? I will venture to say union amongst them for such purpose is not merely improbable, it is impossible," except, he was careful to add, in case of "the most grievous tyranny and oppression." At the first town-meeting held in Boston after the treaty was known there, James Otis said: "We in America have abundant reason to rejoice. The heathen are driven out and the Canadians conquered. The British dominion now extends from sea to sea and from the great rivers to the end of the earth. . . . What God in his providence has united, let no man dare attempt to pull asunder."

In the end, France ceded to England "Nova Scotia,

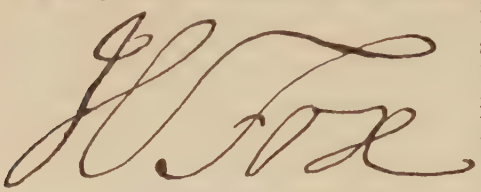
or Acadia, in all its parts. . . . Canada with all its dependencies, as well as the Island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Laurence." The western boundary of the British territory was to be "fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian King cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and everything which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it is situated." France retained the right to fish about Newfoundland and was given two small islands, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, "to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen;" she might "keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police." Such was the scanty flotsam of the engulfed empire of New France. England, on her part, agreed that the king's "new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit," and that such Canadians as desired to leave the country might do so within a period of eighteen months.

1762 1763 Canada Becomes a Part of British America

The preliminary treaty was brought up in both houses of parliament on the ninth of December, 1762. It had already aroused great opposition; it was regarded as being too lenient to France, it had been made without the concurrence of Prussia, and the ministry that negotiated it was unpopular. By this time, Bute was thoroughly detested—he was a royal favorite and he was a Scotchman. It was unsafe for him to appear upon the streets without a bodyguard and on one occasion he was so fiercely attacked that his life was in danger. It was common for a mob to parade through the streets bearing a jack-boot and a bonnet or a petticoat, which they hung upon the gallows or consigned to the flames. It was apparent that heroic means must be used or the treaty

The Treaty in Parliament

1762 would be lost. As the only person who "could weather
1763 the storm about to burst," Henry Fox was given a seat in the cabinet and promised a peerage if he succeeded. With abundant funds, he inaugurated a system of corruption that would have made Newcastle or Walpole stand aghast, and resorted to intimidation of the grossest kind. Pitt spoke for three hours against the treaty, but the arguments that had been employed by the ministry and court were irresistible—Fox had secured a majority. The preliminaries were approved in the house of lords without a division, and in the commons by a vote of three hundred and nineteen to sixty-five.



Autograph of Henry Fox

Utrecht and Versailles

The peace thus obtained has many points of similarity to that of Utrecht. In both cases, a war had been carried on with extraordinary success by the Whig party. In each case, the Tory party had come into power before the war was over, had made a peace less advantageous than might have been reasonably demanded, and had forced the treaty through parliament amid a storm of unpopularity by means of bribery and intimidation. In both cases, England had ignored and, in a sense, betrayed her allies.

Frederick's Resentment

In the present instance, Frederick of Prussia had good reason to complain of "perfidious Albion." Pitt's fall and the withdrawal of the English subsidy would have

January 5, 1762

ruined his cause had not his bitter enemy, the czarina, died. She was succeeded by Peter III. who was such an enthusiastic admirer of the Prussian king that he made peace with him and even sent twenty thousand of his best troops to fight under him. Within a few months, Peter was dethroned and assassinated. His wife and successor recalled her troops, but maintained the peace

May 22

with Prussia. Sweden withdrew from the war and, by her treaty with England, France had agreed no longer to war against Frederick. Thus Prussia and Austria were

left alone to fight out their quarrel. It was evident at Vienna that Austria could not do alone what she had been unable to do with the assistance of the greater part of continental Europe. Reluctantly the empress-queen bowed to the inevitable and, on the fifteenth of February, 1763, a treaty was concluded at Hubertsburg on the basis of the restoration of conditions existing before the war began. Frederick was safe, but, during the remainder of his life, he entertained a bitter resentment toward Bute and the English Tory party. 1763

Effects of the War

Thus ended the terrible Seven Years' war. According to computations made by Frederick, the soldiers who had perished in the conflict numbered about eight hundred and fifty-three thousand. Prussia's share of this loss was one hundred and eighty thousand; her general population had been decreased by half a million, but from the conflict she emerged one of the great powers of Europe. France came out of the war greatly weakened, almost wrecked—colonies lost, navy destroyed, and chance for commercial and colonial supremacy forever gone. France's loss was England's gain. In India, the victories of Plassey and Wandewash laid the firm foundations of an Indian empire that today is one of the wonders of the world. England came out of the war undisputed mistress of the sea and has since remained the world's great colonial and commercial power.

The Prophecy of Vergennes

Equally noteworthy were the effects of the war and of the treaty upon the future of North America. "The consequences of the entire cession of Canada," said Vergennes, then French ambassador at Constantinople, "are obvious. I am persuaded that England will ere long regret having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They no longer stand in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence." Truer prophecy was never made. The conflict had taught the English colonists something of the art of war, something of self-reliance, and something of the impor-

1763 tance of united action. "Had the British king attempted to enslave us before Braddock's war," says one, "in all probability he might readily have done it, because, except the New Englanders, who had formerly been engaged in war with the Indians, we were unacquainted with any kind of war." In the French and Indian war, the colonists discovered that the British redcoats were not invincible, and the removal of the French and Indian menace freed them from further need of the assistance of the mother country.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHEROKEE WAR

1758

The Cherokee Confederacy

WHILE New France was tottering to its fall, the southern English colonies found themselves involved in a new Indian war, the great burden of which fell upon South Carolina. In the region traversed by the southwestern part of the Allegheny chain dwelt the warlike Cherokees, the long-time inhabitants of the beautiful valleys of the tributaries of the upper Tennessee River and claimants of the hunting-grounds as far north as the Ohio. They had generally been friends and allies of the English colonists. In 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming persuaded seven of their principal chiefs to accompany him to England on a visit to their "great father." There they made a treaty by which they acknowledged themselves as subjects of the king of England; hence a British claim to sovereignty over all the Cherokee territory. In 1755, fearing that the Cherokees might be seduced from their allegiance, Governor Glen of South Carolina obtained a treaty in accordance with which he built Fort Prince George in the present Pickens County and within gunshot of Keowee, the principal village of the lower Cherokees. In the country of the upper Cherokees, Fort Loudoun was built, as related in an earlier chapter.

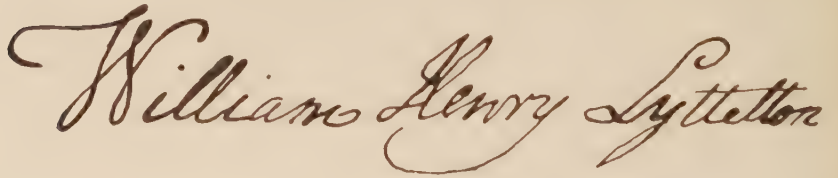
The War Cloud

Among the Cherokees sent to assist General Forbes in his expedition against Fort Duquesne was an influential chieftain named Attakullakulla, or "Little Carpenter," one of those who had visited England in 1730. When

1758 1759 he and nine warriors deserted the expedition, and were arrested, disarmed, and brought back, he displayed no open resentment at his treatment. In its issue of the fourteenth of April, 1759, *The South Carolina Gazette* announced that "the express which arrived in town last Sunday evening from the Cherokees brought Advice of the Little Carpenter's Return to his Country and that he does not seem to resent his being disarmed near Fort Duquesne; and we learn that he may be expected here in a few days." Another party that deserted somewhat later committed murders in North Carolina and returned to their town of Settico with twenty-two scalps. Another party, having lost their horses, stole a number from the backwoodsmen of Virginia who pursued the Indians and killed ten or twelve of the marauders. This treatment aroused a feeling of revenge in the Cherokees. Although the old men opposed war, many of the young warriors, urged on by French emissaries who were furnishing them with arms and ammunition, fell upon the border settlements of the English and killed and scalped all who came in their way.

An Indian Embassy

When Governor Lyttelton of South Carolina heard of these outrages, he demanded that the avengers should be delivered up to be put to death. When the commander at Fort Loudoun called for the surrender or the execution of the chiefs of Settico and Tellico, and the commander at Fort Prince George intercepted merchandise and ammunition that had been sent to the upper Cherokees, "consternation spread along the mountain-sides; the hand of



Autograph of Lyttelton

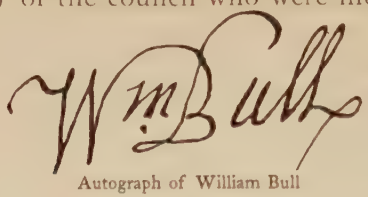
the young men grasped at the tomahawk; the warriors spoke much together concerning Settico and Tellico, and hostile speeches were sent around." One of the most potent influences for holding Indian tribes to the English

was the need of the former for the wares of the latter. 1759
Then Lyttelton ordered a force of militia and a hundred and fifty regulars to rendezvous at the Congarees (near the site of Columbia) in readiness for an expedition into the Indian country, and called upon North Carolina and Virginia for assistance. But many of the Cherokee chiefs were anxious to avoid war and prevailed upon Governor Ellis of Georgia to arrange for a "talk" between them and Lyttelton—at least they so understood it. About thirty chiefs, including Oconostota, or the "Great Warrior of Chotta," who had visited England in 1730, went to Charles Town. They admitted that outrages had been committed by their people, but alleged that these outrages were the work of young men who had been provoked thereto by the behavior of the whites. Some of them asserted that their towns had not been concerned in the offenses, and this probably was true. October 17

A Belligerent Governor

But Governor Lyttelton seems to have decided upon war without waiting for Oconostota's coming. Four days before the "talk" just mentioned, *The South Carolina Gazette* announced that "the Governor will command the army in person. . . . His Excellency we hear will set out in about a week attended by a large Detachment of the Hon. Col. Bull's regiment of Horse." In accordance with that resolution, he now told the Indians that some of them had no authority to act; that, even while they were on their way, their people at home had continued hostilities; and that he had not invited them to a conference; he had only permitted them to come. "I am now going," he said, "with a great many of my warriors to your nation to demand satisfaction. If you will not give it when I come, I shall take it." When the "Great Warrior" claimed for his party the benefit of safe-conduct home, Lyttelton replied: "There is but one way by which I can insure your safety; you shall go with my warriors, and they shall protect you." He further assured the envoys that "not a hair of their heads should be hurt," and put an end to the conference. Of course, the Indians were indignant. William Bull and other members October 13

1759 of the council who were more familiar with Indian affairs than was the governor and better understood the dangers to which the colony was exposed urged that the chiefs be heard, but Lyttelton refused. On some such questions, the council was evenly divided.



Autograph of William Bull

Invasion of the Tennessee Valley

On the twenty-sixth of October, accompanied by the returning chiefs, the governor set out upon his expedition. Among those who gathered at the Congarees were Christopher Gadsden, William Moultrie, and Francis Marion—names that the reader will not be permitted to forget. After leaving the Congarees, the chiefs were treated as prisoners; when two of them escaped, the rest were carefully guarded; when they arrived at Fort Prince George, they were huddled into a miserable hut hardly large enough for half a dozen. By this time, the governor had a little army of about fifteen hundred men, but he had already found that he would not be able to carry out his program. His troops were poorly armed, undisciplined, discontented, and mutinous. He was obliged, therefore, to give up the idea of invading the Cherokee country, and sent ahead a message to the "Little Carpenter" to meet him at Fort Prince George. The accounts of the advance of the provincial army that appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette* from week to week were extremely meager. Thus the issue of the twenty-second of December consisted of twenty-two short lines and ended with: "We have not room to be more particular this week."

December 9

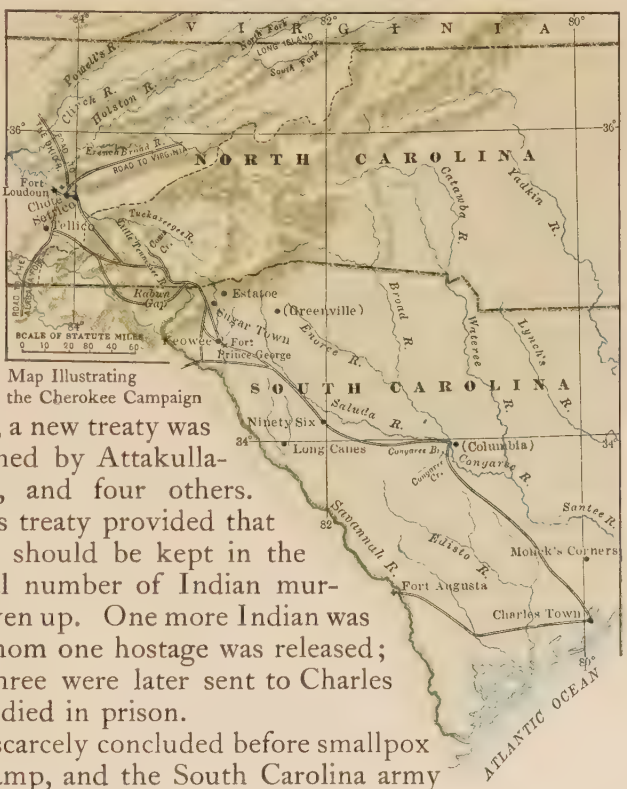
Lyttelton's Demand

The chieftain came. In the middle of December, a congress was held at which Lyttelton threatened that if he was obliged to make war the warriors would be killed and the women made captives. "I have twice," he said, "given you a list of the murderers. I will now tell you there are twenty-four of your nation whom I demand to be delivered up to me to be put to death or otherwise disposed of as I shall think fit. Your people have killed that number of ours, and more, therefore, it is the least I

will accept of. I shall give you till tomorrow to consider it, and then I shall expect your answer." 1759 1760

At Attakullakulla's request, the governor released Oconostota and two other "hostages" to assist in the work of bringing in the men demanded. On the following day, two warriors were surrendered and were put in irons; the chiefs then found it impossible or were unwilling to complete the number of hostages demanded. Finally, a new treaty was drawn up and signed by Attakullakulla, Oconostota, and four others. One article of this treaty provided that the hostage chiefs should be kept in the fort until an equal number of Indian murderers had been given up. One more Indian was surrendered for whom one hostage was released; the surrendered three were later sent to Charles Town where they died in prison.

A Forced Treaty



Map Illustrating the Cherokee Campaign

The treaty was scarcely concluded before smallpox appeared in the camp, and the South Carolina army broke up in wild disorder. Lyttelton stands charged with having "violated the word he had plighted and retained in prison the ambassadors of peace;" McCrady says that his "conduct was as inglorious as it was unwise and unfair." In January, he returned to Charles Town and was given the honor of a triumphant entry — not a drop of blood had been spilled, but a treaty of peace had been signed. In closing its account of Lyttelton's campaign, the *Gazette* spoke of it as an expedition "in which a very numerous, powerful, treacherous, and insolent nation of

Gubernatorial Glory and Journalistic Enthusiasm

January 8, 1760

January 12

1760 Savages have been compelled to submit to such terms and without bloodshed as we believe the annals of America cannot furnish a similar instance of. The Cherokee nation consists of between 2,500 and 3,000 gunmen."

The Murder of the Indian Hostages

But the rejoicings were premature. The "treacherous" treatment of their chiefs had further inflamed the Indians, and war at once began anew. Fourteen men were killed within a mile of Fort Prince George and the fort itself was besieged by a large force under Oconostota, now an implacable enemy of the English. Lieutenant Richard Coytmore, the hated commander of the fort, was enticed outside the gate on pretense of a conference and killed; the two lieutenants who were with him were wounded. The enraged garrison then fell upon their Indian hostages and "butchered them all in a shocking manner."

January

The Cherokee Revenge

After this, peace was impossible. There were few men in the Cherokee nation who had not lost a relative or a friend by the massacre of the hostages, and the warriors heard "the spirits of our murdered brothers flying around us screaming for vengeance." Then the mountains echoed the war-song and the defenseless families on the frontier fell sacrifices to a merciless fury. "Those who escaped the Indians perished with hunger, and those who were taken captive were carried into the wilderness and suffered incredible hardships." One party of fugitives, among whom were Patrick, the father of John C. Calhoun, and other unfortunate settlers at Long Canes, in the present county of Abbeville, were attacked "and some fifty, mostly women and children, were slain. Many children were found after the massacre wandering in the woods. One man found nine of these little fugitives; some had been cut and left for dead, others were found in the bloody field scalped, yet living." Two little girls, daughters of William Calhoun (brother of Patrick), were carried into captivity; after some years, one of these was rescued, the other was never heard of again.

February 1

Monument Erected on the Site of the Massacre

1760 Exit Lyttelton

The general assembly of South Carolina met in February, 1760, authorized the raising of seven companies of rangers for the protection of the back settlements, and made other provision for a new expedition against the Cherokees. Smallpox was then raging in Charles Town and, for many days together, the commons house of assembly was unable to secure a quorum. Lyttelton did not remain to face the storm that he had raised. Having won the warm approbation of the lords of trade and having been appointed governor of Jamaica, then considered the most desirable position in the colonial service, he sailed for that island on the fourth of April. Thomas Pownall, lately governor of Massachusetts, was appointed to fill the vacancy, but he did not come to the province; William Bull had been commissioned lieutenant-governor and, on the sixteenth of April, assumed the administration of the province.

Montgomery's Advance

Three days before Lyttelton's departure, seven vessels from New York arrived at Charles Town with a force of twelve or thirteen hundred British regulars under command of Colonel Archibald Montgomery, sent by General Amherst on Lyttelton's request. The lieutenant-governor called on North Carolina and Virginia for assistance, raised several troops of rangers, and endeavored to secure the aid of the Creeks and Chickasaws against the Cherokees. In a few weeks, Montgomery and his soldiers marched from Monck's Corners. On the second of May, they arrived at the Congarees where the provincial forces, about three hundred rangers and militiamen, including William Moultrie, forty picked men of what were known as the "new levies," and "a good number of guides" had rendezvoused, about sixteen hundred and fifty men in all. After lingering at the Congarees for the arrival of the needed wagons, Montgomery advanced to Ninety Six, whence he moved against the lower towns of the Cherokees.

May 28

Grant's Account June 4

A week later, Lieutenant-colonel Grant of the Highlanders wrote from Fort Prince George: "After killing all we could find and burning every house in the nation

1760 we marched to Keowee and arrived the 2d June (after a march of above 60 miles without sleeping) at 4 in the evening at Fort Prince George. There must have been from 60 to 80 Cherokees killed with about 40 prisoners; I mean men, women and children. Those who escaped must be in a miserable condition and can possibly have no resource but flying over the mountains in case their friends there will receive them; they can have saved nothing; some of them had just time to run out of their beds; . . . the whole affair was the work of a few hours. They had both at Estatoe and Sugar-Town plenty of ammunition which was destroyed; and everywhere astonishing magazines of corn which were all consumed in the flames. They had not even time to save their most valuable effects. . . . We intended to save Sugar-Town as the place nearest the fort (where they even had a stockade fort): Centries were placed for the security of the town but we found the body of a dead man whom they had put to the torture that very morning, it was then no longer possible to think of mercy." The Indians, not strong enough to make much resistance, "were plainly observed on the tops of the mountains, gazing at the flames. For years, the half-charred rafters of their dwellings might be seen on the desolate hillsides."

Montgomery's Retreat

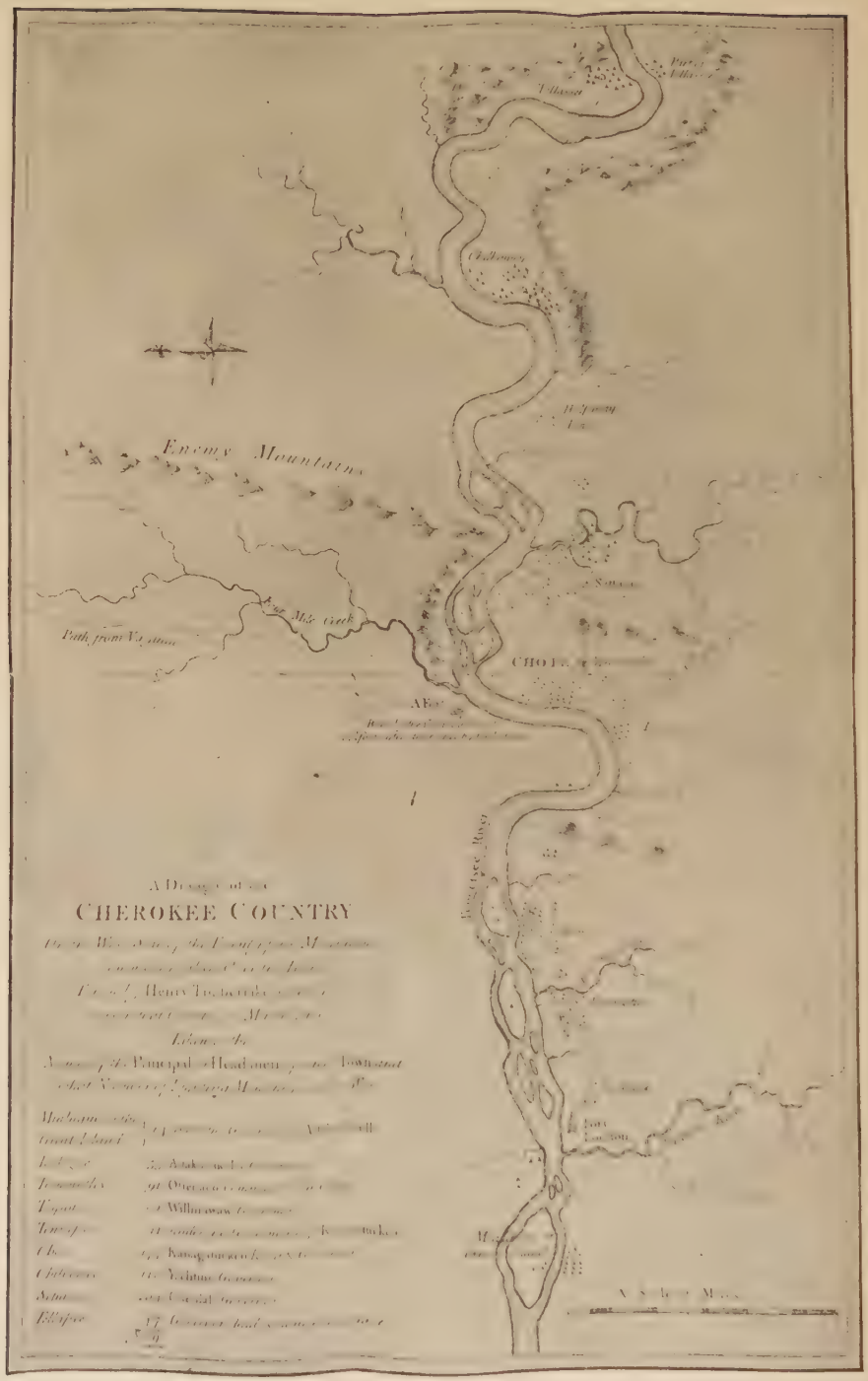
Returning to Fort Prince George, Montgomery summoned the upper and middle Cherokee towns to make peace on penalty of a like visitation. As the Cherokee chiefs gave no heed to his demand, he set out again without tents or baggage, "thro a country where no Waggon could move." On the twenty-sixth of June, the British army crossed the Blue Ridge at Rabun Gap and thence passed down the valley of the Little Tennessee River toward the nearest of the middle settlements of the Cherokees. "Let Montgomery be wary," wrote Washington, "he has a subtle enemy that may give him most trouble when he least expects it." At a narrow pass then called Cow's Creek, not far from the site of Franklin in Macon County, North Carolina, the Chero-

June 24

kees lay in ambush. Fierce fighting followed and the Indians were driven from their lurking-places. Of the Highlanders and provincials, a score were killed and nearly fourscore wounded. Although victorious, Montgomery found it prudent to rest only one day and then to withdraw from the heart of the Alleghenies. On the first of July, he and his troops were at Fort Prince George; on the eighth, they were at Ninety Six. As he had been instructed by General Amherst to strike a hasty blow and then return to Albany in time to take part in the final campaign against Canada, he was unable to linger longer in the Carolinas. Returning to Charles Town, he sailed for New York, leaving Major Frederick Hamilton with four hundred men of the Royal Scots encamped at the Congarees to cover the back settlements. 1760 June 27 August 11

Meanwhile the Cherokees had been besieging Fort Loudoun. The withdrawal of Montgomery sealed its fate. Driven by hunger, the garrison of two hundred capitulated on condition that they be allowed to return to their homes. On the following day, they were overtaken by a horde of warriors who slew the commander, Captain Paul Demere, and about twenty-six others. The story that the Cherokee warriors were "particular in that number [twenty-four] as being the amount of Hostages detained by Gov. Lyttelton" and slain at Fort Prince George is probably ill-founded; the numbers do not tally and the Cherokee warriors were not very sentimental when the tomahawk was red. The rest of the fugitives were taken prisoners and distributed among the tribes. The Fate of Fort Loudoun August 7

Among the prisoners was the second in command, Captain John Stuart of the South Carolina provincial regiment, an officer who had been much liked by many of the Indians and who had been an especial friend of Attakullakulla. When that chieftain learned of Stuart's captivity, he hurried to the fort, bought him from the Indian who had captured him, and treated him as one of his own family. After a time, the Indians formed a plan for capturing Fort Prince George. Stuart was brought before their council and informed that he must undertake The Escape of Captain Stuart



HENRY TIMBERLAKE'S "A DRAUGHT OF THE CHEROKEE COUNTRY"

the management of the artillery in the siege, that he must write such letters to the commandant as the Indians should dictate, and that, if the fort did not surrender, the prisoners, one by one, would be burned before it. Attakullakulla resolved to save his friend from his impending fate. Under the pretense of going hunting, he set out with his wife, his brother, Captain Stuart, and two soldiers. On the tenth day, at the Holston River, the party met a force of soldiers under Major Lewis; on the fourteenth day, they reached Colonel Byrd's camp on the borders of Virginia. By Attakullakulla, Byrd sent to Oconostota a minatory and mandatory letter dated "At the Camp on the Waters of Kanawa, Sept. 16, 1760," together with his terms of peace. 1760 1761

Stuart at once sent word of the impending attack to Lieutenant-governor Bull. Reinforcements and supplies were thrown into Fort Prince George and a new appeal was made to General Amherst for assistance. As Montreal had fallen and Montgomery had returned to England, Amherst sent Lieutenant-colonel James Grant, who had made the unfortunate attack upon Fort Duquesne in 1758, and had fought against the Cherokees in 1760. With Grant were two battalions of Highlanders numbering about twelve hundred men, and five or six Mohawk warriors. Grant and his men arrived at Charles Town early in the new year and went into winter quarters until there should be "feeding on the ground for the horses that are to draw the carriages." A new provincial regiment, commanded by Colonel Henry Middleton, rendezvoused at the Congarees—one of the schools in which several distinguished officers of the Revolution learned their first lessons in the art of war. Colonel Grant January 6, 1761

Grant's advance from Charles Town was delayed by heavy rains but, by the third of May, the last of the army had marched from the Congarees. Moving by way of Ninety Six, the troops arrived at Fort Prince George on the twenty-seventh. There, on the seventh of June, the expedition, which numbered about twenty-six hundred men including Chickasaw and Catawba allies, entered the The Cherokees Punished

1761 Cherokee country by way of the lower towns. Near the place where Montgomery had fought his battle of the
June 10 year before, the Cherokees attacked the English. The fight raged for several hours, but at last the Indians gave way. About midnight of the same day, the invaders reached and burned a large Indian town. Every town in the middle settlements, about fifteen in all, shared the same fate. The magazines of provisions were destroyed, as was the corn growing in the fields, and the unhappy Indians "were driven to seek shelter and provisions among the barren mountains — their fields destroyed, their villages burned, their women and old men left to perish." For thirty days, the expedition continued in the heart of the Cherokee country. Grant then returned
July 9 to Fort Prince George to give his army needed rest and to await the results of its work.

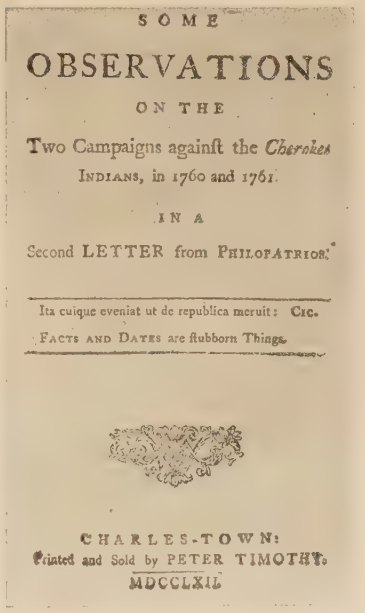
Peace Attakullakulla, who seems to have been the consistent friend of the English during all the trouble, soon appeared
August 14 at the fort accompanied by other chiefs, and sued for peace. They were given a safe conduct to Charles Town and set out from the fort on the third of September. Lieutenant-governor Bull and his council met them at
September 15 Ashley Ferry and received them kindly. "A fire was kindled, the pipe of peace was lighted, and all smoked together for some time in great silence. Attakullakulla then opened his mission and, in a speech of great dignity and pathos, sued for peace" — a peace that was readily granted. The little English army left Fort Prince George on the sixteenth of October and was at Ninety Six on the twenty-fifth; Colonel Middleton of the provincials had previously arrived at Charles Town. By the nineteenth of December, the last of the British regulars who had been in the Cherokee country marched into the city and were immediately embarked on the transports. About
December 22 this time, Thomas Boone arrived at Charles Town as governor of the province and was received with due formality.

For various reasons, many of the facts relating to the Cherokee war are obscure, but none more so than the

parts played by Virginia and South Carolina respectively in the building of Fort Loudoun and its attempted relief. As already recorded, both Lyttelton and Bull as chief executives of South Carolina called for the assistance of North Carolina and Virginia. Because of these appeals and aided possibly by a feeling of proprietary interest in the matter, the governor of Virginia, in his message of the second of November, 1759, called attention to the importance of "finishing and completing" Fort Loudoun. In the following year, the *South Carolina Gazette* announced that Colonel Byrd and Virginians were in full march for the relief of Fort Loudoun. About a month later, the *Gazette* reported that the thousand men under Colonel Byrd "are returning to Augusta County on the frontiers of that colony [Virginia] where they are to remain until spring and then to act in concert with us." According to a recent statement of an historical writer of the Old Dominion, "the government of Virginia sent out a force of six hundred men under Col. William Byrd [of Westover] to relieve the fort; but he was greatly hampered by lack of supplies, and for this and other unknown reasons, his advance was very slow. On reaching the Long Island of Holston he built a fort and spent here the winter of 1760, and though while here he was joined by five hundred North Carolinians under Col. Hugh Waddell, no vigorous effort seems to have been made to relieve Fort Loudoun." With these admissions on the open page, it seems safe to award the credit

1761

The Aid Given by Virginia and North Carolina


SOME

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Two Campaigns againſt the *Cherokee* INDIANS, in 1760 and 1761.

IN A

Second LETTER from PHILOPATRIOS.

Ita cuique eveniat ut de republica meruit: CIC.

FACTS AND DATES are ſtubborn Things.

CHARLES-TOWN:
Printed and Sold by PETER TIMOTHY.
MDCCLXII.

Title-page of *Some Observations on the Two Campaigns Against the Cherokee Indians*

August 23, 1760

November 15

1760 of protecting the southern English colonies from the attacks of the formidable and French-incited Cherokees to South Carolina, which province certainly bore the heaviest share of the burdens of the war.

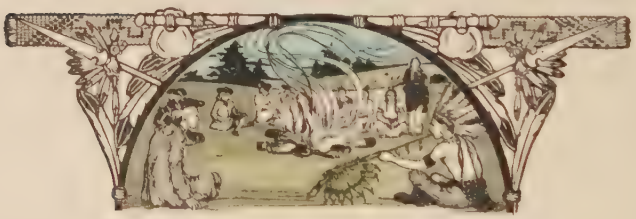
The End of the War

In the course of the final campaign, the superciliousness of Lieutenant-colonel Grant had given deep offense to Colonel Middleton of the South Carolina regiment. Feeling that he had been slighted and neglected, Middleton challenged Grant to mortal combat. The affair of honor ended without bloodshed, and the *South Carolina Gazette*, as if in exemplification of safe and sane journalism, reported the incident thus:

December 26

> We have the pleasure to acquaint the public that the private difference which had for some time subsisted between two gentlemen of considerable rank was, last Wednesday morning, happily terminated to the honour of both parties and the satisfaction of all the friends of each.

Thus ended the Cherokee war, one that had proved ruinous to the tribes and disastrous to the colonists. Cherokee hatred for the Carolinians continued to rankle in the hearts of the red warriors until the coming of another opportunity for vengeance. When it did come they were not slow in seizing upon it.



CHAPTER XIX

THE PONTIAC WAR

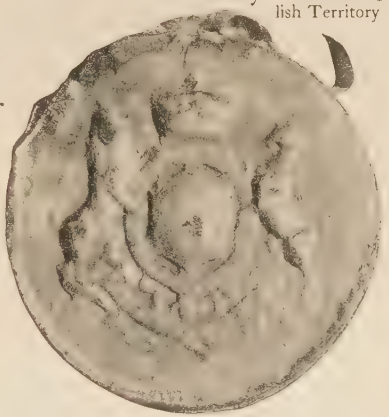
1763

THE treaty of Paris transformed the political map of North America. "From the standpoint of geography, the total result was that Spain and England now divided the continent between them; from the standpoint of civilization, the total result, already seen to be vast beyond compare, is not yet fully apparent." Choiseul, the French minister who signed the treaty, said: "So we are gone; it will be England's turn next." New York became the headquarters of the British army in America with General Jeffrey Amherst continued in command.

A New Map of North America

In October, a royal proclamation erected in the newly acquired territory four separate governments known as Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada (the latter embracing a number of West Indian islands), attached Cape Breton and Prince Edward (then Saint John) islands to the government of Nova Scotia, and extended the southern boundary of Georgia to the Saint Marys River. General assemblies, similiar to those already existing in the other English colonies, were promised to the new governments "so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof;"

The New English Territory



Seal of the English Province of West Florida

North America under Treaty of 1763
Prepared by David Maydole Matteson, A. M., Cambridge, Mass.

the full benefit of English law being, in the meantime, extended to the inhabitants. The region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi and south of the great lakes was temporarily closed to settlement by a provision prohibiting the governors of any of the colonies from granting lands therein, forbidding the purchase of lands from the Indians, and requiring a license from Indian traders. Apparently, the intention was to hold the Ohio country as a vast Indian reservation, subject to white settlement only by direct permission of the king in council. Practically, the proclamation set aside the claims (most of them shadowy) of the coast colonies to this western country and fixed their western limits at the Allegheny watershed. 1760 1763

The Proclamation Line

A few days after the surrender of New France by Vaudreuil and Lévis, General Amherst had sent Major Rogers to take possession in the name of King George of the western posts included in the late capitulation, Detroit, Michillimackinac, etc. With two hundred rangers in whaleboats, Rogers left Montreal on the thirteenth of September, 1760. They ascended the Saint Lawrence, skirted the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and were at Fort Niagara on the second of October. They carried their boats around the great cataract, launched them in the river, and slowly worked their way along the southern shore of Lake Erie. On the seventh of November, they were at the mouth of a river that Rogers called the Chogage (Cuyahoga) where they decided to camp until the weather became better. No troops had ever before borne the British flag so far beyond the mountains. Soon after their arrival, a party of Indians appeared as an embassy from the ruler of all that country; before night, Pontiac was there in person haughtily demanding why Rogers and his men had come thither without his permission and what was their errand. Up to this time, the shrewd and ambitious chieftain had been the firm ally of the French, but when Rogers informed him that Canada had been surrendered to the English and that he was on his way to take possession of Detroit, the calumet was smoked and harmony seemed established.

Rogers Sets Out for the Western Posts

Pontiac's Début

1760
1763

Rogers Takes Possession of Detroit

Protected by the powerful influence of Pontiac, Rogers and his men went forward, coasted the western end of the lake, ascended the Detroit River, passing the village of the Wyandots on the right, that of the Pottawatomies on the left, and the homes of the Canadian habitants on either bank. At Rogers's summons, Belètre, the French commandant of Fort Detroit, gave up the post, the French garrison laid down their arms, the fleur-de-lis of France was lowered, and the cross of Saint George took its place at the peak of the flagstaff. The Canadian militia were disarmed and the Indians were amazed that so many should yield to so few instead of killing them on the spot. Thus, on the twenty-ninth of November, 1760, the village of Cadillac, enthroned at the gateway of the upper lakes, became a possession of Great Britain.

English Garrisons in the Old Northwest

The French garrison were shipped down the lake as prisoners, the Canadian settlers who would swear allegiance to the British crown were protected in person and property, and detachments were sent into what is Indiana to take possession of the forts Miami and Ouiatanon. Owing to the lateness of the season, the posts of Michillimackinac, Sainte Marie, Green Bay, and Saint Joseph remained in the hands of the French until the following season when they were occupied by detachments of the Royal Americans. The disparity between the importance of the possession and the slenderness of the force employed to maintain it, appealed to Parkman's mind as something ludicrous. "A region embracing so many thousand miles of surface was consigned to the keeping of some five or six hundred men. Yet the force, small as it was, appeared adequate to its object, for there seemed no enemy to contend with. The hands of the French were tied by the capitulation, and little apprehension was felt from the red inhabitants of the woods."

Indian Dissatisfaction

The English colonists rejoiced in the belief that peace and freedom from Indian attack were at last assured; but their fancied security was soon rudely disturbed. The English settlers did not, as a rule, marry Indian wives as did the French, nor did they always treat their

Figure de la Riviere du detroit depuis son embouchure jusqu'au fort
A Fort
B Village des Sonnontouans
C Village des hurons
D. Village des outaouis
E. Rx a Sarant
F. Isle aux oziers
G. Rang. des hurons
H Rang. des Sonnontouans
I. Le Coteau de Sable
K Rx Grange
L. Rang. des vieilles terres
M. Rx aux Loups
N. Rx. au Gibier
O. Isle au Gibier
P. Petite Isle au Gibier.
Q Rx aux Carpes
U. Sainte marie aux Iroquois
R. Rx a la Fourche
S la grande Isle
T. Rx au Canard
X. Isle a la Biche
Y Rx a la Presqu'isle
Z. Isle au bon Chene,
& Village des hurons abandonné
a Rx aux hurons
b Pointe aux Roches
c. Rx au Cigne
@ Presqu'Isle
Carte du Lac Erié
Lieues

De Léry's Map of Detroit River

barbarian neighbors with tact, kindness, or even justice. 1760
As the military posts in the West were turned over, one 1763
after another, to the English, the disagreeable consequences of the change were soon impressed upon the Indians. The latter were no longer received as welcome guests, as of old, but instead were cheated, abused, insulted, and frequently driven away by those who saw

Medal "Taken from an Indian Chief in the American War, 1761"

only their indolence and filth. From the mountains to the great river, from the lakes to the gulf, discontent and anger spread throughout the Indian hunting-grounds; while the misrepresentations of the lingering French hunters and traders, who gave the Indians to understand that the French would come back before long and drive the feeble English out of all the western country, added fuel to the flame.

The Pontiac Conspiracy

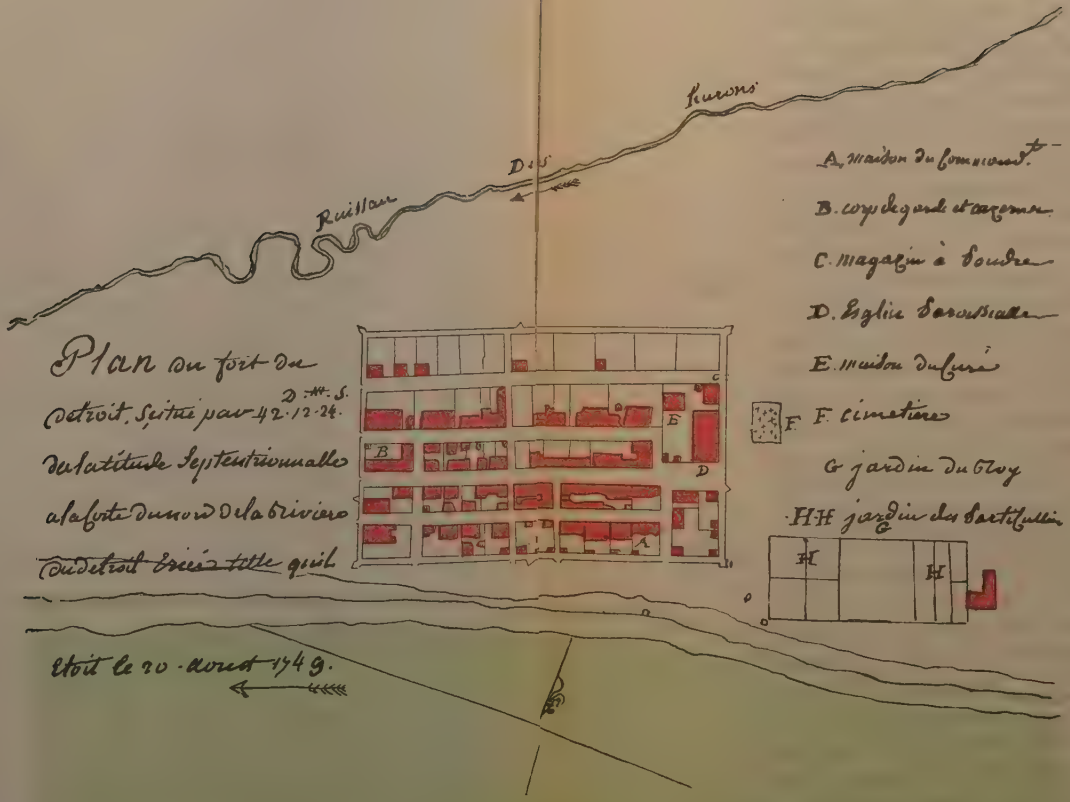
The Indians found a leader in Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, styled the Napoleon of the Indian tribes of North America by one writer and the Satan of this sylvan Paradise by another. Although a barbarian, "his courage in battle, his genius in the art of war, his power of winning others to his cause, and his influence over his people, stamped him a great man;" Mr. Mooney ascribes to him the highest position among the leaders of the Algonquian race. To his dignity as chief, he added the sacred character of high priest of the secret order of the

1760 1763 Midé. With the hope of winning recognition from the English and, perhaps, of being raised by them to the head of a great Indian confederacy, he had simulated friendship for Rogers and even insured safety to him and his rangers as they advanced from the Cuyahoga to Detroit. But when the English refused to buy his powerful support, his indignation flamed and he took counsel of his thirst for vengeance. He clearly saw that the English, if not checked, would "conquer his race as they had conquered the French, and would drive them from their hunting-grounds or make them slaves." In the silence of his wigwam he matured his plans for a union of the western tribes in a general war against the English frontier settlements.

The Delaware Prophet

In 1762, a prophet appeared among the Delawares on the Muskingum claiming a divine command revealed to him in a vision and preaching "a union of all the red tribes and a return to the old Indian life." The religious ferment produced by his exhortations spread rapidly from tribe to tribe and, under the guidance of a master mind, took shape in a grand confederacy of all the northwestern tribes to oppose the further progress of the English. As principal chief of the lake tribes, Pontiac summoned them to a great council at Ecorces, near Detroit, in April, 1763; as "high priest and keeper of the faith, he there announced to them the will of the Master of Life as revealed to the Delaware prophet," and called upon them to unite for the recovery of their lands and the extermination of the conquerors of the French. The chiefs listened to his burning words and cried out that he had only to declare his will to be obeyed. His plan, carefully matured, was eagerly and unanimously accepted. Messengers with reddened tomahawks and wampum war-belts were sent to gain the tribes north of the great lakes, and even along the lower Mississippi. All the western posts were to be attacked simultaneously in May, at a certain change of the moon. Each tribe was to dispose of the nearest garrison, then all were to turn upon the older forts and settlements, and, with the aid of the

His Message to the Lake Tribes



De Léry's Plan of Detroit in 1749

French, destroy them. The fiery injunction of the great chief, received through the prophet from the Master of Life, was to "drive the dogs who wear red clothing into the sea." All through the Northwest, Indian maidens chanted the war-songs of their tribes, "while in the blaze of a hundred camp fires, chiefs and warriors were enacting the savage pantomime of battle." As told by Parkman, the history of the war thus ushered in reads like some old knightly romance. His version of *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* lays every later teller of the story under tribute. As a matter of justice to the reader of this brief chapter, I point the way to Parkman's volumes. 1763

Major Gladwin

The attack on Detroit was to be undertaken in person by Pontiac who had established himself with his wives at his summer home on the Isle à la Peche near the entrance to Lake Saint Clair. In March, Ensign Holmes, the English commander at Fort Miami (now Fort Wayne, Indiana), had informed Major Henry Gladwin, the commander at Detroit, of his discovery of an Indian conspiracy to capture the latter post, then the chief station in the new Northwest. This fort consisted of a palisade twenty-five feet high, with wooden bastions at the corners and blockhouses at the gates. Within the square enclosure were about a hundred houses, besides a church and barracks. The garrison comprised about one hundred and twenty soldiers and eight officers, with forty other men capable of bearing arms. The battery consisted of one 3-pounder, two 6-pounders, and three mortars. Two armed schooners were at anchor in the river. Major Gladwin had served as a lieutenant in the ill-fated Braddock expedition and had learned something of Indian character and warfare in the campaigns against Ticonderoga and Niagara. He thought that the plot was of slight consequence, an affair that would soon blow over, but he forwarded the report of the conspiracy to General Amherst.

The Plot Revealed

The date fixed for the rising was the seventh of May. On the first, Pontiac and forty warriors danced the calumet dance before Gladwin and his officers in the fort; in

1763 the meantime, ten other Indians strolled about the fort and, when the dance had ended, they had learned all that Pontiac wished to know. That night, the chiefs met in council and a hundred warriors completed their plans for the destruction of the fort. On the fifth, the wife of a white settler visited the Ottawa village and observed that the Indians were cutting short their gun-barrels. When the news of this singular proceeding reached the fort, the post blacksmith remembered that he had lately loaned files and saws to the Indians, and treachery was at once suspected. If the eyes of Major Gladwin were still bound, his disillusionment was complete when, on the following day, he was given warning of the plot soon to be hatched. The source of this private information is still a matter of some doubt. The romantic and generally accepted story of an Indian mistress, first printed by Jonathan Carver in his *Travels*, is inconsistent with that given by the author of the *Pontiac Manuscript* to the effect that the plot was revealed to Gladwin by an Ottawa Indian who had reluctantly entered into the conspiracy. At all events, Major Gladwin was forewarned.

Pontiac Unmasked

On the morning of the seventh, Pontiac and sixty warriors appeared before the fort and asked admission. The request was granted as usual and the Indians, wrapped in blankets beneath which were concealed the shortened guns, entered. "Why do I see so many of my father's young men standing in the street with their guns?" asked the startled Pontiac. Gladwin carelessly replied that he had ordered them out "to keep them perfect in their exercise." The council opened and Pontiac, embarrassed, began his speech. When he seemed about to lift the wampum belt and present it wrong end foremost—the preconcerted signal for the slaughter of the English officers and a general attack by Indians who lounged about the fort or loitered at the gate—Gladwin and his attendants drew their swords half way from their scabbards, motions that were instantly followed by the roll of a drum and the rattle of musketry at the open door. Gladwin accused Pontiac of being a traitor and,

drawing aside the blanket of the Indian chief seated nearest him, discovered the shortened firelock. With a magnanimity born of over-confidence, Gladwin had the silenced Pontiac and the chagrined conspirators conducted to the gate and dismissed; had they been disarmed and detained as prisoners, a bloody war might have been in part averted. Still bent on carrying out his plans, Pontiac sought another interview with Gladwin, assuring the commander that "evil birds had sung lies in his ear;" when he and his warriors were refused admission to the fort, he threw off all disguise, proclaimed war, and besieged the post. 1763

The Siege of Detroit

Pontiac called a council at the house of a French trader by the name of Cuillerier. At the council were French settlers, Ottawa, Wyandot, Chippewa, and Pottawatomie chiefs. Under promise that they should return in safety that very night, Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall went to Cuillerier's house, they having been assured that it would not be difficult to persuade the Indians to make peace. At the conference, Pontiac named the French trader as commandant of Detroit until the return of the former French commandant, and informed the British officers that, to secure peace, the English must leave the country under escort and without arms or baggage. After the failure of his earnest plea for peace, Captain Campbell arose to return to the fort when Pontiac quietly said: "My father will sleep tonight in the lodges of his red children." In spite of all promises, Campbell and McDougall were held prisoners under a strong guard. That they were not put to death was probably due to Pontiac's fear that Gladwin would retaliate upon some of his Pottawatomie prisoners; this might lead to the desertion of that tribe from the great conspiracy.

A Broken Promise

On the following day, the terms outlined to Captain Campbell were proposed to Major Gladwin, who promptly refused to make any terms with his besiegers. The problem of the English commander of Fort Detroit was to hold out until the French and the Indians were

Gladwin's Problem

1763 convinced that a permanent peace had been made between France and England and that the French government would not come to their assistance. Gladwin had already, under cover of the darkness, been gathering provisions from the French settlers on the eastern side of the river. He knew that reinforcements and supplies were coming up Lake Erie from Niagara, and so he sent the schooner "Gladwin" to hurry them forward and to bear his assurance to General Amherst that he would hold out until the expected succor should come.

The Heroic Campbell

On the day after the schooner "Gladwin" had set sail from the fort and as she lay becalmed near the mouth of the Detroit River, a large fleet of Indian canoes suddenly darted out upon her from the neighboring shores. In the prow of the foremost canoe was Captain Campbell, pushed forward as a screen against the fire of the English. The doubly gallant officer shouted to the schooner's crew to do their duty without regard to what might happen to him. Just then a fresh breeze sprang up and the schooner soon left the canoes far behind — but she missed the bateaux that were bringing men and supplies from Niagara.

Cuyler's Expedition

By this time, discouraging reports of the results of Pontiac's plotting were coming in from other western posts. News of the capture of Fort Sandusky came on the twenty-second of May and was followed by stories of similiar disasters at Fort Miami and elsewhere. At the end of the month, the long-expected bateaux from Niagara were seen coming up the river — joy was changed to dismay when it was learned that they were in charge of red men with white captives at the oars. As the foremost of the boats came opposite the English schooner still lying off the fort, the soldiers suddenly engaged their Indian guards in a desperate struggle and soon reached the vessel — "a living monument that Fortune favors the brave," wrote an officer of the garrison. From these men thus "snatched from the jaws of fate," it was learned that, about the middle of May, Lieutenant Cuyler and ninety-six men had set out from Fort Niagara and

embarked at Fort Schlosser just above the falls with an abundant supply of provisions and ammunition for the beleagured post. After coasting the northern shore of Lake Erie, the party landed at Point Pelee, not far from the mouth of the Detroit River. Here they were suddenly attacked by a party of Wyandot Indians. Surprised and completely routed, the Englishmen threw down their guns and fled to their bateaux, five of which, crowded with panic-stricken soldiers, were pushed from the shore. The Indians pursued and only two of the five escaped. On these two were Cuyler and nearly forty of his men; the others were killed or captured. The loss was a severe one to Gladwin who sorely needed the men and the supplies. Unfortunately, the captured bateaux bore a large supply of fire-water. This was carried to the Indian camps, "which, throughout the night, presented a scene of savage revelry and riot." Vague reports of the fate of the prisoners captured came to the fort and, on several succeeding days, "naked corpses, gashed with knives and scorched with fire, floated down on the pure waters of the Detroit, whose fish came up to nibble at the clotted blood that clung to their ghastly faces."

1763

May 28

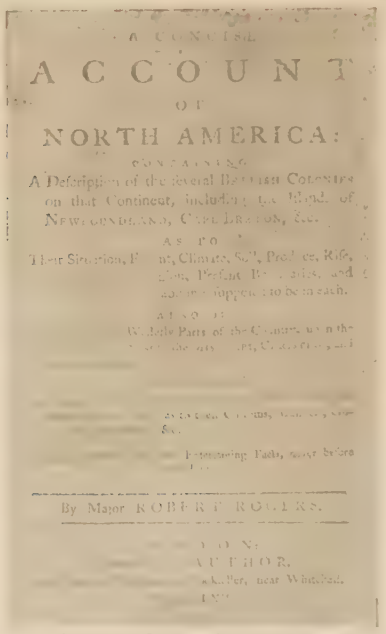
Late in June, the "Gladwin" that had missed Lieutenant Cuyler and his boats on Lake Erie came back from Niagara with food, ammunition, and reinforcements. It brought also the news of the signing of the treaty of Paris in the previous February. On the fourth of July, Gladwin assembled the French, read to them the articles of peace, and sent a copy across the river to the priest. Thereupon some of the French took service under Gladwin. By the treaty, "their allegiance was transferred from the crown of France to that of Britain, and they were subjects of the English king." A few days before this, Pontiac had sent in another summons to surrender and Gladwin had replied that, until Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall were returned, Pontiac might save himself the trouble of sending further messages to him. Not long after, McDougall escaped to the fort,

Captain Campbell's Fate

1763 but Campbell was killed by the Chippewas who cut off his head, took out his heart and ate it, and divided his body into small pieces—"the end of a brave soldier, esteemed, loved, and sincerely mourned in the army, from General Amherst and Colonel Bouquet down to the privates who served under him."

The Battle of Bloody Bridge

About a month later, Captain Dalzell of General Amherst's staff arrived at Detroit with twenty-two barges, carrying two hundred and eighty men besides artillery and supplies. Among the men were twenty independent rangers commanded by Major Robert Rogers. Gladwin reluctantly gave his consent to Dalzell's project for a night attack on Pontiac's camp. The movement was betrayed to Pontiac, the English were led into an ambuscade, Dalzell was killed, and the forced retreat became "little more than a sickening detail of helpless slaughter." This battle of Bloody Bridge added much to the dimmed prestige of the Ottawa chief and every day brought accessions to his forces. The fort, however, was now well garrisoned and well furnished with ammunition and provisions, and Pontiac was unable to follow up his success.


A CONCISE
ACCOUNT
OF
NORTH AMERICA:
By Major ROBERT ROGERS.

Title-page of Rogers's *Concise Account*

July 31

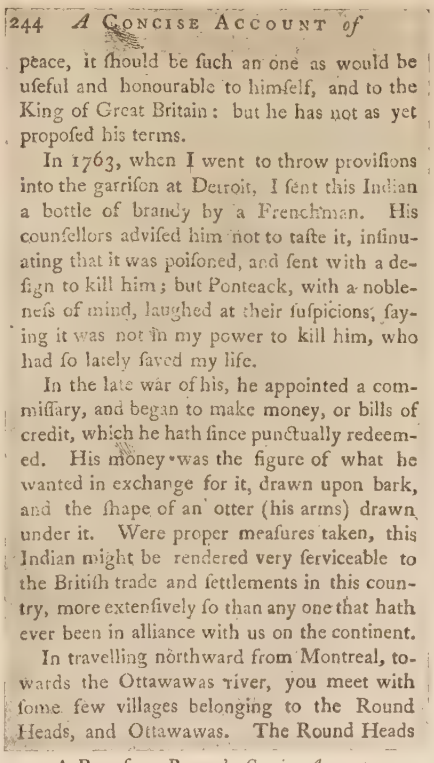
A Wyandot Comedy

There were several skirmishes in August, but the Indians were powerless against the defenses of the fort, and the two vessels kept open the way for food supplies sent by the settlers on the other side of the river and made occasional trips to Niagara for ammunition and needed stores. On her return from one of these trips

to the lower end of the lake, the "Gladwin" was becalmed and anchored nine or ten miles below the fort when, in the darkness of night, a large force of Wyandots in canoes made an attack. The commander of the schooner having been killed and the contest seeming hopeless, the mate gave the order to blow up the vessel. Warned by one of their companions who understood the order, the Wyandots dashed overboard and swam away with all possible energy. The mate was as much astonished as he was gratified. He was not further molested and, in the morning, sailed away to the fort. In this month, Major Wilkins, the commander at Fort Niagara, with six hundred regular troops, advanced by way of the lake for the relief of Detroit. One night, as they were nearing their destination, a violent storm incited the merciless waves to wreck the frail flotilla. Some of the bateaux were driven ashore and many of them were broken in pieces. Seventy of the men were drowned and all the ammunition and stores were destroyed. What was left of the expedition was forced back to Niagara.

1763

September 4



244 *A* CONCISE ACCOUNT *of*

peace, it ſhould be ſuch an one as would be uſeful and honourable to himſelf, and to the King of Great Britain: but he has not as yet propoſed his terms.

In 1763, when I went to throw proviſions into the garriſon at Detroit, I ſent this Indian a bottle of brandy by a Frenchman. His counſellors adviſed him not to taſte it, inſinuating that it was poiſoned, and ſent with a deſign to kill him; but Ponteack, with a nobleneſs of mind, laughed at their ſuſpicions, ſaying it was not in my power to kill him, who had ſo lately ſaved my life.

In the late war of his, he appointed a commiſſary, and began to make money, or bills of credit, which he hath ſince punctually redeemed. His money was the figure of what he wanted in exchange for it, drawn upon bark, and the ſhape of an otter (his arms) drawn under it. Were proper meaſures taken, this Indian might be rendered very ſerviceable to the Britiſh trade and ſettlements in this country, more extenſively ſo than any one that hath ever been in alliance with us on the continent.

In travelling northward from Montreal, towards the Ottawawas river, you meet with ſome few villages belonging to the Round Heads, and Ottawawas. The Round Heads

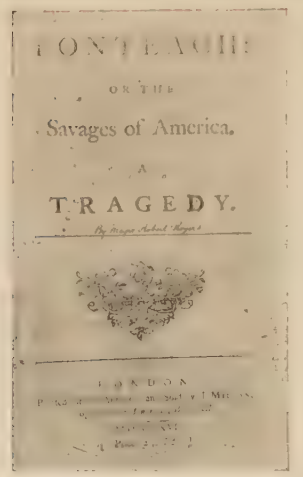
A Page from Rogers's *Concise Account*

The Wilkins Expedition

By the end of September, most of the lake tribes except the Ottawas were inclined to sue for peace. Their ammunition was almost exhausted, the long and desolate

The Siege of Detroit Raised

1763 winter was coming on apace, they had heard that Major Wilkins was on his way to Detroit with a strong force, and they feared the consequences of an attack upon themselves. They therefore sent a representative to make overtures to Gladwin. As the garrison was threatened with famine, Gladwin thought it good policy to listen to falsehoods, protestations, and promises. He gave the deputy of the tribes to understand that it was not for him to grant peace, but he would consent to a truce. Taking advantage of the new conditions, the fort was soon furnished with a supply of provisions adequate for the winter. From the beginning of the siege in May, Pontiac had had hopes of French aid from the Illinois country. In response to his appeals, and under pressure from General Amherst, the French commandant at Fort Chartres sent his assurance that the Indians could expect no assistance from the French; that "the great day has come at last wherein it has pleased the Master of Life to inspire the great King of France and him of England to make peace. . . . Our hearts are now but one; you cannot, at present, strike the one without having the other for an enemy also." Pontiac's cause was lost and, on the following day, he put on the mask and made overtures for peace. Gladwin again cautiously granted a truce and Pontiac withdrew to the Maumee to stir up the Indians in that quarter, preparatory to a renewal of the war in the spring.



Title-page of Rogers's *Ponteach*

October 12

A Series of Disasters

In the attacks on most of the other English posts, the method that had been employed at Detroit was used and generally with success. A few Indians in friendly guise would approach the fort. These few admitted, others soon joined them. Suddenly they struck down the small garrison or made them prisoners. Fort Sandusky was

taken on the sixteenth of May; Fort Saint Joseph, on the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan, on the twenty-fifth; Fort Miami (now Fort Wayne, Indiana), on the twenty-seventh; Fort Ouiatanon (now Lafayette, Indiana), on the first of June; Fort Michillimackinac (now Mackinac, Michigan), on the second of June; Fort Le Bœuf (in Erie County, Pennsylvania), Fort Venango (in Franklin County, Pennsylvania), and the posts at Carlisle and Bedford, Pennsylvania, on the eighteenth; and Fort Presque Isle (now Erie, Pennsylvania), on the twenty-second. The fort at Presque Isle was the only one that had any warning; it held out two days and was then set on fire by the Indians. At Venango, not one of the garrison escaped to tell the story; most of them were promptly butchered, Lieutenant Gordon was put to death by slow torture, and the fort was laid in ashes. At Fort Ligonier, the defense was successful. 1763

At Fort Pitt

Early in May, Captain Simeon Ecuyer, the commander at Fort Pitt, was informed of the conspiracy by a letter from Gladwin and immediately began preparations for defense. It was not long before a party of Indians appeared with the usual protestations of friendship. They told, also, of the capture of the other forts and of the approach of an immense Indian force; and they advised that the English, with their women and children, leave the fort and seek safety in the English settlements. "There are many bad Indians already here," they said, "but we will protect you from them." Ecuyer, however, had three hundred and thirty soldiers and backwoodsmen and was quite as wily as the Indians. He not only declined the advice of the Indians with thanks, but informed them, in strict confidence, that six thousand English were on their way to Fort Pitt, that three thousand more had gone to punish the Ottawas and Ojibwas, and that a third force was gathering on the frontier of Virginia, where it would be joined by the Cherokees and Catawbas "who are coming here to destroy *you*." On the following day, the Indians took their departure and, for about a month, nothing was seen of them. On the

1763 twenty-sixth of July, they returned, again professing their love for the English and lamenting "because the chain of friendship had been broken." That night, they dug holes in the banks of the two rivers, threw fire-arrows into the fort, and shot at the soldiers at every opportunity. For five days and nights they kept up the attack, wounding seven of the garrison but killing none; then they disappeared to cut off the expedition of Colonel Henry Bouquet who was coming with relief for Fort Pitt.

Bouquet Equips an Army

With characteristic mental sluggishness, General Amherst had failed to realize the seriousness of the great Indian conspiracy. But an officer at Philadelphia grasped the situation promptly and fully. Colonel Henry Bouquet, whom we met at the capture of Fort Duquesne, had served seven years in fighting American Indians and was more cunning than they in the practice of their own artifices. He was ordered to march to the relief of Fort Pitt with all the forces he could muster, and the promptness and energy with which he acted make his expedition one of the most brilliant in American history. He was given five hundred regulars, worn out by the siege of Havana and fitter for the hospital than for field or forest march. Orders were sent to gather supplies and means of transportation at Carlisle. By the first of July, Bouquet and his Highlanders reached Carlisle only to find that the expected preparations had not been made. In eighteen days, he collected provisions, horses, oxen, and wagons, and began his march to Fort Pitt. Sixty sick men in rough ambulances could but recall to mind the bleaching bones of Braddock's army a few miles ahead.

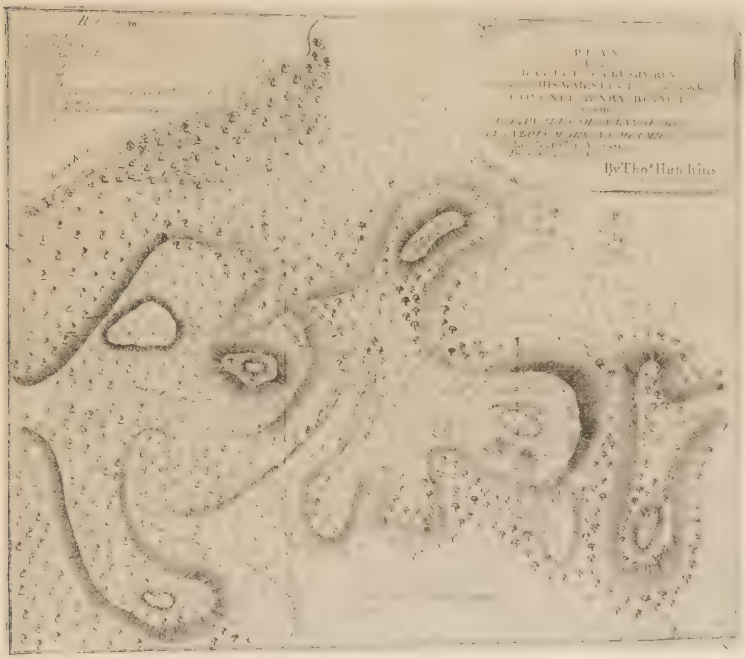
Following Forbes's Road

By the twenty-fifth of July, Bouquet was at Fort Bedford where he left his sick and secured the services of thirty backwoodsmen as guides. Fort Pitt was a hundred and five miles away and the intervening wilderness was alive with Indians. Under the hot sun and through a country formed by nature for ambuscades and surprises, Bouquet cautiously advanced along the rough road that Forbes had made in 1758. The siege of Fort Ligonier

was raised on the second of August. This post was of special importance, both from its situation and because of the large quantity of military stores that it contained; its capture by the Indians at this time would have enabled them to continue indefinitely their siege of Fort Pitt and would have put Bouquet in jeopardy. Bouquet left his wagons and oxen at Fort Ligonier and prepared to move forward with three hundred and fifty pack-horses. Expecting that the Indians would lay an ambuscade at the defile of Turtle Creek, about a day's march beyond the fort, he determined to push on to Bushy Run, rest his troops there, and pass Turtle Creek under cover of the following night. 1763

A Warm Afternoon at Bushy Run

About one o'clock on the afternoon of the fifth of August, when the baggage train was half a mile from Bushy Run, the proposed resting-place, a fierce attack was suddenly made on the advance-guard. Bouquet hurried two companies to the front. Soon firing was



Plan of the Battle of Bushy Run

1763 heard in the rear and troops were ordered back to protect the baggage train. Then came assaults on the right and left. The woods seemed full of Indians and it was clear that the little army was surrounded. Bouquet formed his troops in a circle, with the horses, which soon became unmanageable from fright, in the center. The men stood firm, now firing upon the shadowy forms in the forest, now charging with the bayonet upon the phantom figures that flitted from tree to tree and from their cover kept up a deadly fire upon the exposed and crowded English. The unequal fight was continued until darkness proclaimed a truce, by which time sixty soldiers and several officers had been killed or wounded. The troops were forced to camp as best they could on the hill where they had fought. There was no water, even for the wounded, and thirst became more intolerable than fighting.

Bouquet's Danger

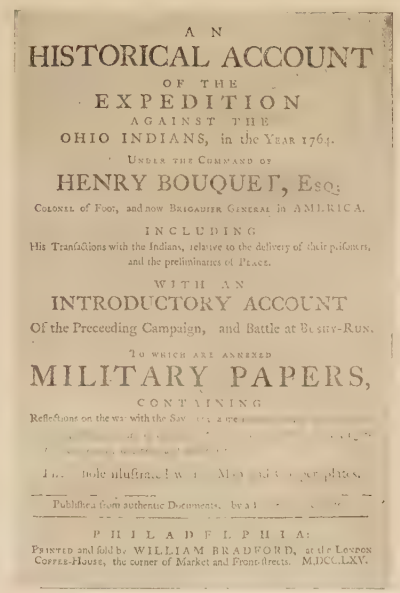
In the night, Bouquet wrote to Amherst that he feared "insurmountable difficulties" and expressed his "admiration of the cool and steady behaviour of the troops." With the first rays of the morning light came the bullets and yells of the enemy, exultantly confident of an easy victory. Bouquet saw that, as things were going, it was only a matter of a few hours until his exposed troops, suffering from heat, fatigue, and a thirst "more intolerable than the enemy's fire," would be destroyed and that his only chance of escape from a fate like that of Braddock was to draw the Indians from their cover into a compact body, and thereby give his regulars a chance to deal them a stunning blow such as he was confident they could deliver.

Strategy and Victory

A stratagem brought the desired end. The advance line of the English suddenly fell back as if in retreat and passed behind a second line concealed in ambush. The Indians, believing themselves victorious and eager to seize the English baggage train, rushed from the woods in headlong pursuit. The ambuscading line delivered its fire; the retreating line forgot its simulated fright, faced about, fired, and charged; other companies fell on the Indian flank with bullet and bayonet. As the Indians

1763

turned back, the ambuscading line met them in front, the Highlanders fell upon them with the bayonet and with yells as wild as their own, and the rout of the red men was complete. The Indians left on the field sixty of their number, including several formidable chiefs. The English loss was fifty killed, sixty wounded, and five missing; eight officers were included in the number.


AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
EXPEDITION
AGAINST THE
OHIO INDIANS, in the YEAR 1764.
UNDER THE COMMAND OF
HENRY BOUQUET, Esq;
COLONEL of FOOT, and now BRIGADIER GENERAL in AMERICA.
INCLUDING
His Tranſactions with the Indians, relative to the delivery of their priſoners, and the preliminaries of PEACE.
WITH AN
INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT
Of the Preceeding Campaign, and Battle at Bushy-Run.
TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED
MILITARY PAPERS,
CONTAINING
Reflections on the war with the Sav[illegible]
[illegible] illuſtrated [illegible]
Publiſhed from authentic Documents, by a [illegible]
PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED and ſold by WILLIAM BRADFORD, at the LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE, the corner of Market and Front-ſtreets. MDCC.LXV.

Title-page of Smith's *Historical Account* of Bouquet's Expedition

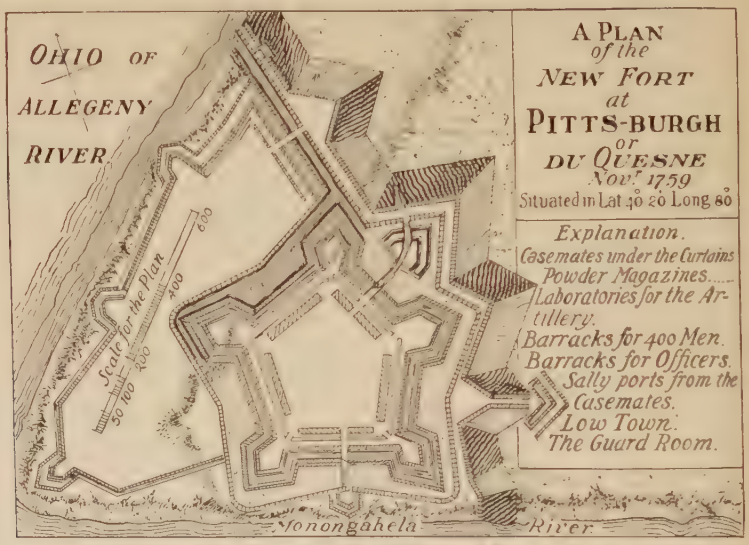
"The battle of Bushy Run," says Poole, "both for its military conduct and its political results, deserves a place among the memorable battles in America. The Indians fought with a courage and desperation rarely seen in Indian warfare, and the English troops with a steadiness and valor which was due to their training as regulars and the direction of so able a commander. The tidings of this victory broke the spirit of the Indian conspiracy, and the reports were received with rejoicing in all the English colonies."

Character and Effect

The expedition at once resumed its march toward Fort Pitt, twenty-five miles away, carrying the wounded on litters. Four days later, Bouquet's veterans and Ecuyer's garrison were mingling congratulations over their common relief. Since the Indians raised the siege at Fort Pitt on the first of August and marched to attack Bouquet, none of them had been seen by the soldiers of the garrison until the morning of the tenth when, not long before the arrival of Bouquet, they passed the fort displaying the scalp-locks that they had taken but not lingering in that vicinity. Bouquet had intended to move on from Fort

Relief of Fort Pitt

1763



Redrawn from Roque's *A Set of Plans and Forts in America*

Pitt into the Ohio country, but his losses made reinforcements necessary; the Ohio expedition was accordingly postponed until the following year.

Attack on the Moravian Indians

During the winter of 1763-64, the quiet on the frontier was emphasized by riotous disturbances in eastern Pennsylvania. Along the thinly settled borders, two thousand persons had been carried off and nearly as many families had been driven from their homes. The hardy hunters, rangers, and backwoods farmers who remained were choked with rage against all Indians and filled with resentment against the inefficient and unsympathetic Quakers. Even the Christian converts of the Moravian missionaries, peaceful dwellers in the valley of the Lehigh and at Wyalusing near Wyoming, became the objects of such an indiscriminating wrath that the Pennsylvania assembly ordered them disarmed and removed to some other part of the province, the Quakers voting for the motion in consideration of the safety of the Indians, and others in consideration of the safety of the whites. In November, 1763, about a hundred and forty of the unfortunate exiles, greeted with threats and curses on the

way, were conducted to Philadelphia and lodged in waste houses on an island below the city. Then the scene of disturbance shifted. 1763

Not far from Lancaster was Conestoga, the dwelling-place of a small band of Indians who had always been friendly to the English. Some distance from Conestoga, on the east bank of the Susquehanna, was the little town of Paxton; in 1755, Indians had burned the town and murdered many of its inhabitants. They who now lived in the rebuilt village were relatives of those who had been killed and, like most of the Pennsylvania borderers, descendants of Presbyterian emigrants from the north of Ireland and heirs to their dislike for both Indians and Quakers. With their general hatred toward Indians, the Paxton men mingled a suspicion of the Conestoga band who thus, without judge or jury, became proper objects for extirpation. Just before daybreak on the morning of the fourteenth of December, fifty armed men burst into the Conestoga cabins and "shot, stabbed, and hacked to death all whom they found there, . . . seized upon what little booty they could find, set the cabins on fire, and departed." It happened that when the Paxton men made their call only six Indians were at home; the fourteen absentees were quickly hurried to the Lancaster jail as the surest place of refuge. Enraged at the escape of the greater number of their intended victims, the Paxton men rode at a gallop into Lancaster, and broke open the door of the jail. Their "work was soon finished. The bodies of men, women, and children, mangled with outrageous brutality, lay scattered about the yard; and the murderers were gone." Those murderers were chiefly "respectable citizens." The governor issued a proclamation offering rewards for the arrest of the murderers who "proclaimed their deed in the face of day, boasted the achievement and defended it by reason and Scripture. So great was the excitement in the frontier counties and so deep the sympathy with the rioters, that to arrest them would have required the employment of a strong military force, an experiment far too dangerous to be tried."

Attack on the Conestoga Indians

The Paxton Men at Lancaster

1764 Quakers on a War Footing

Flushed with their success at Lancaster and encouraged by the sympathy of the multitude, the rioters soon resolved to march in arms on Philadelphia with the avowed purpose of killing the Moravian Indians then held there and of forcing from the assembly the redress of political grievances. Late in January, 1764, several hundred of them actually took the road to Philadelphia, spreading alarm among the citizens there and finally forcing even Quakers to arm for the protection of their own persons and property. In the universal terror and confusion, the calm resolution of Benjamin Franklin came to the rescue and, after various timid expedients had failed, the citizen soldiers mustered and "among them was seen many a Quaker with musket in hand." Recognizing the futility of their hostile designs, "the rioters signified their willingness to return home, glad to escape so easily from an affair which had begun to threaten worse consequences."

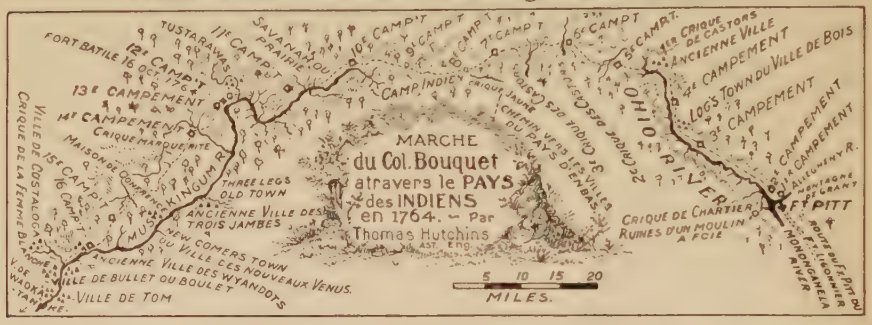
The Redoubt at Pittsburg

In the spring following these disturbances in eastern Pennsylvania, Bouquet built at Fort Pitt the blockhouse or redoubt that is the sole remaining memorial of the stirring events in which he participated; and Colonel Campbell planted the present city of Pittsburg and laid out the part bounded by Water, Second, Ferry, and Market streets. In 1894, the old redoubt and the plot of ground on which it stands passed by deed of gift to the Pittsburg chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. 1764 Pittsburg

Elsewhere, scattered war parties were early at work and, in June, Colonel Bradstreet was sent to the great lakes with twelve hundred men. At Niagara, he found a large Indian council that Sir William Johnson, by summonses and threats, had succeeded in bringing together. Treaties of peace were made and the Indians ceded to the English a strip four miles wide on each side of the Niagara River, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. The spirit of the tribes had been broken. In August, at Presque Isle and on his own authority, Bradstreet made an unwise treaty with the troublesome Ohio Indians. "He added to his folly by writing to his superior officer, Colonel Bouquet, that the colonel need not march into the Ohio country, as the business of pacifying the western Indians had been attended to." On the twenty-sixth, he arrived at Detroit and, on the seventh of September, met the Indians in council instead of punishing them as directed by his instructions. Pontiac sent messages of defiance from the banks of the Maumee, and Sir William Johnson wrote to the lords of trade commenting in severe terms on Bradstreet's bad management. Bradstreet's Expedition August 12 December 26

In the meantime, Bouquet, notwithstanding the opposition of the Quakers in the Pennsylvania assembly, had succeeded in raising more troops and supplies. He was now the hero of the frontier and, when it was known that he was to lead an expedition to the Ohio towns, volunteers flocked to his standard. Cresap promised to lead a party of Virginia woodsmen; Sir William Johnson offered to send a band of friendly Indians; and, more Bouquet in the Ohio Country

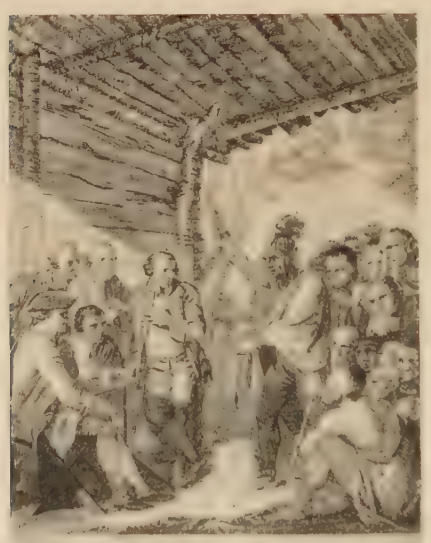
1764 encouraging than all the rest, Pennsylvania undertook to raise a thousand men. In August, he received the mes-



Map of Bouquet's March (Adapted from Hutchins's Map)

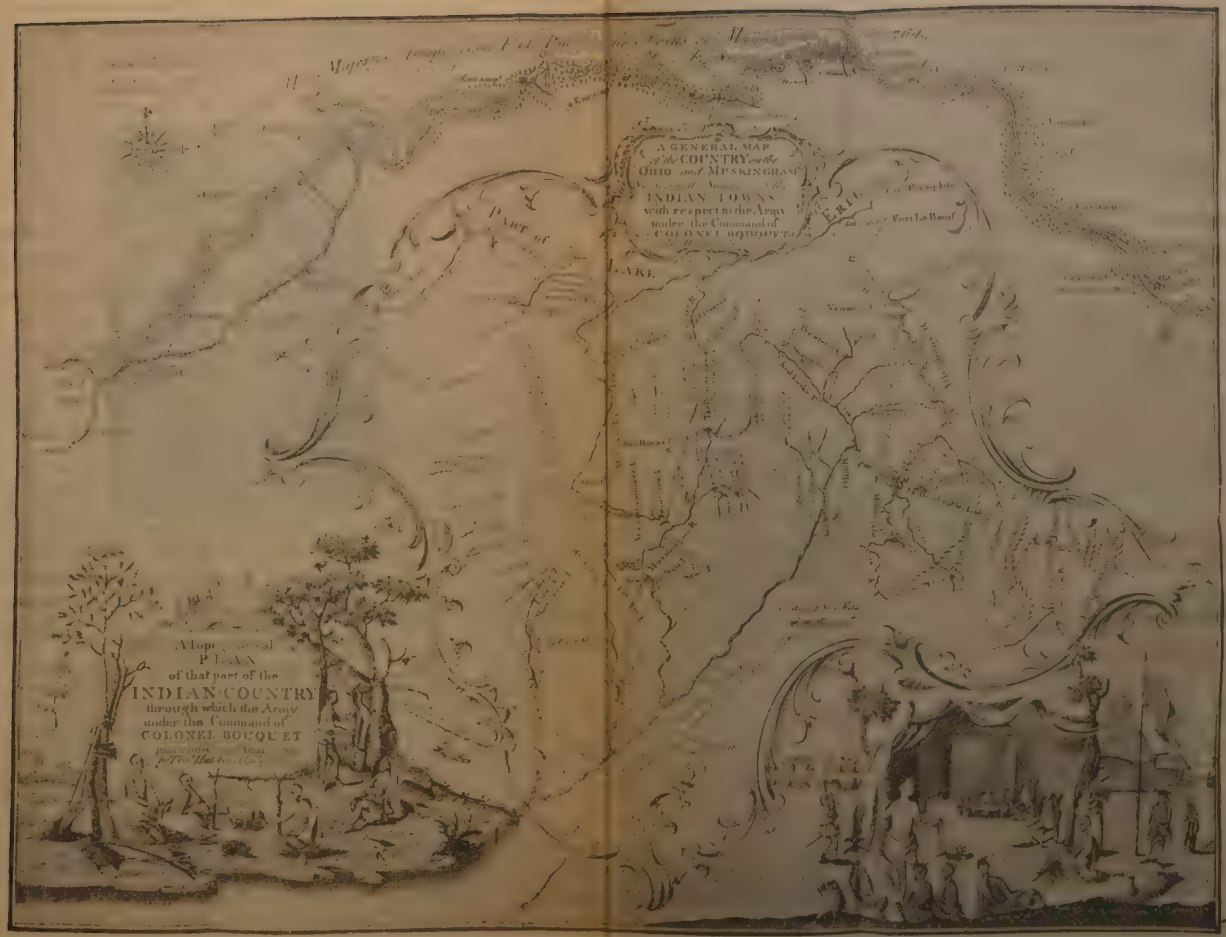
sage that Bradstreet had sent to him from Presque Isle, but as the Delawares and Shawnees had continued their murders and depredations he kept on with his preparations and, on the seventeenth of September, was once more at Fort Pitt. In October, he set out with fifteen hundred men on his long march into the valley of the Muskingum to extort treaties of peace from the Shawnees, Delawares, and other tribes in that region, and to recover the English captives still held by the Indians. He advanced to the forks of the Muskingum without opposition, obtained the desired treaties, and, by the ninth of November, secured the release of some two hundred captives.

October 3



Indians having a Talk with Bouquet over a Council Fire

Among the Pennsylvania and Virginia troops were the fathers, brothers, and husbands of many of the cap-



HUTCHINS'S MAP OF THE OHIO COUNTRY, 1765
(From Smith's *Historical Account*. Philadelphia, 1765)

tives whose rescue had been one of the chief objects of the expedition. As group after group of the prisoners arrived at the English camp, there were strange and moving sights, "more worthy the pen of the dramatist than of the historian." The meeting of long separated husbands and wives, and of fathers and children, the reunion of broken families, the heart-breaking misery as a sun-burned child shrank from a forgotten parent and clung to the tawny breast of an adopted mother, the unspeakable joy of some saddened by the agonies of others for whom the torture of protracted suspense was ended only by some tale of horror, and, even worse than the pain of fears realized, the pangs of doubt not yet resolved — the story of this and more is set down by Parkman in the luminous pages of his *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*. On the twenty-eighth of November, Bouquet was back again at Fort Pitt. He was honored with votes of thanks from the assemblies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, with the rank of brigadier, and with formal thanks from the king. In 1765, he was placed in command of the southern district, but died of fever at Pensacola on the second of September.

1764 The Release of the Captives

Indians Delivering up English Captives to Bouquet

The Pontiac conspiracy was dead but Pontiac was still alive and a menace to the English. He applied to the French commandant at Fort Chartres for aid, but was refused. He then returned to the Maumee, gathered four hundred of his warriors, and with them and a disorderly company of Illinois Indians reappeared at Fort

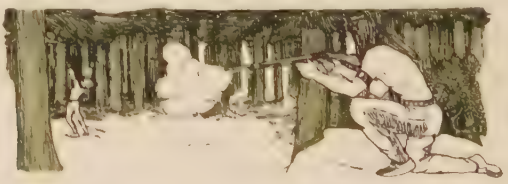
The Death of Pontiac

1764 Chartres, demanding weapons and ammunition with which to fight the English. The French garrison was holding

Medal Presented to the Indian Chiefs at the Treaty of 1764 after the Pontiac Conspiracy

the fort until a British force should arrive to receive it, and the commandant again refused to comply with the Indian demands. "The most agreeable sight to this worthy Frenchman at that time would have been the arrival of a regiment of British infantry." Pontiac then sent an embassy to New Orleans, but before it arrived, news of the secret cession of the country to Spain had been received and the last hope of the great Indian leader was destroyed. In the summer of 1766, in company

July 23–31 with other chiefs, he met Sir William Johnson at Oswego and made his formal submission. Three years later, a Kaskaskia Indian followed Pontiac into the forest where East Saint Louis now stands, and, in consideration of a barrel of rum promised by an English trader, killed him. The body of the great chief was claimed by the commander of the post at Saint Louis by whom it was buried with the honors of war in an unknown grave.



BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

THE following lists are intended to be helpful to the student of this volume by way of suggestion for supplementary reading; they are not offered as complete lists of works consulted by the author. Helpful suggestions are contained in the paragraph introductory to the bibliographical appendix to the first volume of this work. Valuable side-lights on many of the topics herein considered may be found in other general histories of the United States, such as Bancroft's, Hildreth's, etc., some of which are cited in the appendix to the first volume. As the reader can easily find what he wants by reference to the indexes of those works, the following lists omit such references. The general arrangement of this bibliography is similar to that used in the preceding volumes.

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CHAPTER II — THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR — PREPARATION

Note. — Additional information may be found in older general histories like Bancroft's and Hildreth's, and in works previously cited in this bibliography and indicated by the marginal numbers (titles) **2, 6, 20, 24, 26, 35, 44, 45.** Consult the indexes of such works.

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CHAPTER IX — THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758 — THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG

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CHAPTER X — THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758 — TICONDEROGA AND FORT FRONTENAC

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CHAPTER XII — THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759 — THE CONTESTANTS

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CHAPTERS XIV AND XV — THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC

Note. — See the note on page 380, and titles **2, 7, 20, 24, 34, 35, 38, 48, 52, 54, 62, 63, 66, 77, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 160, 162, 165, 168, 169, 174, 188, 189.** The most extensive bibliography of the siege of Quebec yet published is given in Doughty's *Quebec* (**168**), vol. 6, pp. 151–312.

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CHAPTER XVIII—THE CHEROKEE WAR

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CHAPTER XIX—THE PONTIAC WAR

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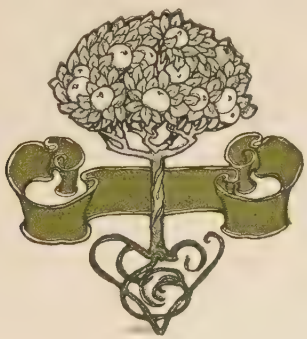

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